# ESSAYS

*SETON.*

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Sz. Clarkey

Miss Ascher

with the affectionate regards of

Elizabeth Seton

# ESSAYS

ON

# VARIOUS SUBJECTS

CHIEFLY

# ROMAN

BY

MONSIGNOR SETON, D.D.

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# CONTENTS.


| | PAGE |
|---|---|
| PROSE AND POETRY OF ANCIENT MUSIC, | 11 |
| ITALIAN COMMERCE IN THE MIDDLE AGES, | 28 |
| SCANDERBEG, | 55 |
| VITTORIA COLONNA, | 73 |
| THE JEWS IN ROME, | 93 |
| EARLY PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHRISTIANS, | 134 |
| THE FIRST JUBILEE, | 147 |
| THE CHARITIES OF ROME, | 163 |
| THE APOSTOLIC MISSION TO CHILI, | 179 |
| THE PALATINE PRELATES OF ROME, | 202 |
| THE CARDINALATE, | 214 |
| PAPAL ELECTIONS, | 258 |

# PREFACE.

THE following Essays were first published in the *Catholic World*, but have since been retouched, and, with some changes and additions, are now presented to the public in a collected form.

During a residence of many years in Rome we were in the habit of keeping a commonplace book, and the contents of the present volume have been based on notes taken at the time.

It used to be a proverb that every road leads to Rome; and we may also say that every subject, whether of literature, art, or science, has some connection with Rome. Our Essays, if nothing else, will remind one of the Eternal City. Cassiodorus observes (Ep. iii. 21) of the pleasure and advantages of dwelling in Rome, that it is a species of crime for a person to live elsewhere, if he can afford to settle there: "*Piaculi genus est absentem sibi Romam facere qui in eâ possunt constitutis laribus habitare*"; but putting away those pre-

dilections which we cannot hope to realize, we dedicate this book—

*Vade, liber, verbisque meis loca grata saluta,*

as exiled Ovid wrote—to the memory of those happy, studious, and regretted days when we drank of the waters of Trevi:

*Romæ nutriri mihi contigit atque doceri.*

—*Horace.*

Some people will object to our Essays as old-fashioned and pedantic. They are not, we confess, on matters of the day, but subjects of another age than our own often afford the most agreeable studies and are peculiarly fitted for men of conservative and scholarly ideas. A taste for archæology should not be confounded with that gross *antiquitarianism* whose followers have been pilloried by Milton among the "hinderers of reformation"; for, as Bacon remarks, "They that Reverence too much Old Times are but a Scorne to the New."

R. S.

JERSEY CITY, March 25, 1882.

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# ESSAYS.

## PROSE AND POETRY OF ANCIENT MUSIC.

The man that hath no music in himself,
Nor is not mov'd with concord of sweet sounds,
Is fit for treasons, stratagems, and spoils :
The motions of his spirit are dull as night,
And his affections dark as Erebus.
Let no such man be trusted.

—*Merchant of Venice.*

Music, in its most general sense, is the art of producing melodious sounds, and, from its power over the passions, it is called the sentimental art. In the mythology of Greece it was cultivated chiefly by the Muses, from whom the term *music* is derived ; but, although dear to all of them, it was presided over by Euterpe, who is always represented with a flute in her hand. The great divinity of song and instrumental music, however, was Apollo, who is mentioned in the *Iliad* as delighting the immortal gods with the sweetness of his notes ; for he was the inventor of the lyre and leader of the Pierian nine, whence he is called sometimes *Citharœdus* and sometimes *Musagetes*, in both which characters very fine statues of him have come down to us from antiquity. The worship of the Muses began early in Greece, and

the favorite resort of these divinities of intellectual pleasure was the flowery border of the rills that murmured down the sides of Mount Parnassus, while their chaste grove and sacred fountain of Castalia was on that part of the Parnassan range called Helicon. Here their statues were seen and described by Pausanias, and afterwards removed by Constantine to his new capital on the Bosporus.

Pagan authors ascribed the origin of music to fanciful occurrences, or, at best, to chance and natural operations. Thus, according to some, it was a gift to man of this one or that of their national divinities ; but, according to others, the babble of running waters, the warbling notes of birds, mountains that echoed, winds that sighed through the forest trees and

> Fill the shade with a religious awe—

in a word, the general song of nature inspired Apollo and the Muses, who were no more than shepherds of Arcadia, to please the world with music ; for

> The birds instructed man,
> And taught him songs before his art began ;
> And while soft evening gales blew o'er the plains,
> And shook the sounding reeds, they taught the swains;
> And thus the pipe was framed and tuneful reed.
>
> —*Lucretius.*

But Christian writers believe that Adam, the first man, being endowed by the Creator with every sort of knowledge, excelled in music as well as in the other arts and sciences. With his fall this knowledge was weakened, while in his descendants many things were lost and all things became obscured. That music has in some way a heavenly origin all are agreed—even the Hindoos, who say that its effects are produced in us

by recalling to memory the airs of Paradise, which we heard in our state of pre-existence ; even the Greeks, whose fables are founded on the corruption of primeval traditions, and whose invocation to music is :

O art divine ! exalted blessing !
Each celestial charm expressing !
Kindest gift the gods bestow !
Sweetest good that mortals know !

But the writer in the English or, perhaps, in any other language who has most poetically stated the case of music, and given us a Christian view of it, is Newman, in the last of his Oxford University sermons. "Can it be," he asks, "that those mysterious stirrings of heart, and keen emotions, and strange yearnings after we know not what, and awful impressions from we know not whence, should be wrought in us by what is unsubstantial, and comes and goes, and begins and ends, in itself? It is not so ; it cannot be. No ; they have escaped from some higher sphere ; they are the outpourings of eternal harmony in the medium of created sound; they are echoes from our Home ; they are the voice of angels, or the *Magnificat* of saints, or the living laws of divine Governance, or the divine Attributes ; something are they besides themselves which we cannot compass, which we cannot utter, though mortal man—and he, perhaps, not otherwise distinguished above his fellows—has the gift of eliciting them." *

The ancients urged in favor of music three principal benefits to mankind : its effects in softening the manners of men, thereby promoting civilization and raising a people out of the barbarous and savage state ; its effects in exciting or repressing the passions ; and its ef-

* Cardinal Newman is himself an accomplished musician.

fects as a medicinal power to cure diseases. Thus Polybius ascribes to the cultivation of this art the refinement of the inhabitants of Arcadia, and to the absence of such a discipline the roughness which characterized the citizens of Cynæthæ; thus Homer places a musician near the person of Clytemnestra as a guard upon her chastity, and until he was away Ægistus, who then wronged her, had no power over her affections. The subduing influence of music was again tried with success many ages after by the Jesuit missionaries in Paraguay, who used to play upon guitars and flutes to attract the melody-loving Indians from their forest haunts towards the village communities which they had established on the banks of the Parana.* Lycurgus regulated the music of Sparta, and his laws were set to measure by the celebrated musician Terpander; while Plato not only attributed an instructive virtue to music, but maintained that a people's music could not be interfered with without altering their form of government. This civilizing influence of music is beautifully illustrated by the old legend of the Greeks, that, when the workmen toiled on the walls of Thebes, Amphion played so sweetly on a lyre borrowed from Mercury that the stones did move of themselves. This, of course, is an allegory, to signify that by his musical talents, poetical numbers, and the wisdom of his counsel Amphion prevailed with a rude people to submit to law, live in society, and raise a defence against their neighbors.

Since two things greatly contribute to the effects of music, its powers of imitation and of association, the ancients gave it a large measure of influence over the

* After religion there is certainly no greater means of civilization than commerce; and commerce in the middle ages began with fairs, at which merchants employed the seductions of minstrelsy and music to draw numbers together, and thus be able to display and sell their goods.

passions. Thus Plutarch relates that Terpander appeased a violent sedition among the Lacedæmonians by the aid of his lyre, and that Empedocles prevented a murder by the soothing sound of his flute; and the painter Theon, having brought one of his works, which represented a soldier attacking an enemy, to be exhibited on the public square, would allow the veil to be withdrawn only after his attendant musicians had wrought up with military airs the crowds that gathered before it. Hence Plato wrote that a warlike air inspires courage, because it imitates the sounds and accents of a brave man, and that a calm air produces tranquillity in the soul on the same principle; or, as Burke says, "The passions may be considerably operated upon, without presenting any image at all, by certain sounds adapted to that purpose, of which we have a sufficient proof in the acknowledged and powerful effects of instrumental music"; for it counterfeits by sound some quality or state of the mind. Thus, rage is loud, anger harsh, but love and pity are gentle; consequently, loud and clangorous music stirs up the stronger passions, while a smooth measure imitates the gentler emotions of the mind. The wonderful influence of martial music on the ardor of soldiers in battle has been remarked by many writers on military affairs, and opera-goers must confess the bad tendency of sensuous music. Shakspere knew it well when he wrote of the fellow

> Who capers nimbly in a lady's chamber
> To the lascivious pleasing of a lute.

The effects of music on the heads and hearts of men were so strongly perceived by Plato that he banished from his model republic the Lydian and Ionian modes, because they excited the lower instincts, but retained

the severe Doric and Phrygian measures on account of their manliness and decency; and some of our best English poets have recorded their testimony to these same effects. We subjoin a few examples, taken almost at random:

And ever, against eating cares,
Lap me in soft Lydian airs.

—*Milton.*

Music alone with sudden charms can bind
The wand'ring sense, and calm the troubled mind.

—*Congreve.*

Chiron with pleasing harp Achilles tamed,
And his rough manners with soft music framed.

—*King.*

Timotheus to his breathing flute and sounding lyre
Could swell the soul to rage, or kindle soft desire.

—*Dryden.*

Now wild with fierce desire,
My breast is all on fire!
In soften'd raptures now I die!
Can empty sound such joys impart?
Can music thus transport the heart
With melting ecstasy?

—*Cunningham.*

Music! the greatest good that mortals know,
And all of heav'n we have below.
Music can noble hints impart,
Engender fury, kindle love,
With unsuspected eloquence can move,
And manage all the man with secret art.

—*Addison.*

When Music, heavenly maid, was young,
While yet in early Greece she sung,
The Passions oft, to hear her spell,
Thronged around her magic cell,

Exulting, trembling, raging, fainting,
Possessed beyond the Muse's painting;
By turns they felt the glowing mind
Disturbed, delighted, raised, refined.

—*Collins.*

Music the fiercest grief can charm,
And Fate's severest rage disarm:
Music can soften pain to ease,
And make despair and madness please;
Our joys below it can improve,
And antedate the bliss above.

—*Pope.*

Association of ideas, which has so large a share in the operations of the human mind, often contributes much to the effects of music; for, as Shakspere says:

How many things by season seasoned are
To their right praise, and true perfection!

Thus, music that has been heard in an agreeable place or that was played by some one near and dear to us, or music that is connected with the trials and triumphs of our native land, will awaken sentiments of love or melancholy, or sympathy or ardor, on the principle of associated ideas. This is feelingly expressed in the 136th Psalm in the persons of the captive Hebrews, in whom the sound of music which they had listened to in happy days would have awakened too keen an anguish.* In more modern times we have had public illustrations of the same principle in those simple melodies called *ranz des vaches*, which are such favorites with the mountaineers of Switzerland, and are played upon a long trumpet or Alpine horn. The sound of these tunes, and the rude words set to them, which are expressive of scenes

* This plaintive Psalm was turned into most musical English verse by Donne, who makes it touchingly suggestive; and later, and better still, by Aubrey de Vere in his beautiful drama, *Alexander the Great*.

of pastoral life—the shingled cottage, the dashing waterfall, the bleating of sheep, the lowing of herds, and the tinkling cow-bells—sometimes recalled so vividly to the native in a foreign clime the memories of his own land as to produce a disease called *nostalgia*, that often showed itself among the Swiss soldiers in the Neapolitan service ;* for

> There is in souls a sympathy with sounds ;
> And as the mind is pitched, the ear is pleased
> With melting airs, or martial, brisk, or grave ;
> Some chord in unison with what we hear
> Is touched within us, and the heart replies.
>
> —*Cowper.*

The belief of the ancients that music was auxiliary to medicine is attested by a great number of writers. Chiron the Centaur, who educated Achilles, was careful to unite instructions in the healing art to those which he gave on music. Plutarch tells us that Thales of Crete delivered the Spartans from a plague by the aid of his lyre ; Athenæus quotes Theophrastus as authority that the Thebans cured epilepsy by the notes of a flute ; Aulus Gellius says that music will rid a man of the gout ; Xenocrates employed music in the cure of maniacs ; while the judicious Galen gravely speaks of playing the flute over the suffering parts of the body ; and the idea that music is the sovereign and only remedy for the bite of the tarantula still lingers in Southern Italy. The Tyrrhenes always hired a flute-player to perform while they flogged their slaves, to give them some relief under the lash ; and there was usually an arch-musician on board of the triremes—in which the rowers' strength

* A person who was present has feelingly described the deep effect produced on some of our poor wounded soldiers who had been brought to a church in Fredericksburg on their way North, after one of the battles in the Wilderness, when some person sat down at the organ and played " Home, sweet Home."

and endurance were more severely taxed than in smaller vessels—not only to mark the time or cadence for each stroke of the oar, but principally to cheer the men by the sweetness of the melody; whence Quintilian takes occasion to remark that music is a gift of nature to make us the more patiently to support labor and fatigue.*

Among the nations of antiquity Egypt was long thought to be the mother of civilization; and the Egyptians were well acquainted with music, for representations of musical instruments have been discovered on some of their oldest monuments, such as obelisks and tombs. But they never popularized music, because they thought that it had the effect of making youth effeminate; yet Strabo says that their children were instructed in one, and only one, special kind of music, of which the government approved. Like every other profession, that of musician was hereditary. Egyptian music was originally grave and in solemn accord with the stiffness of the kindred arts, which were hampered by strict hieratic rules, and almost exclusively devoted to the service of religion. When the country fell under the sway of the Greeks, music became of a gayer and less moral sort, being as much or more employed at banquets and on other profane occasions as in the temples and beside the bier. The Ptolemies encouraged Greek music, and the musical contests introduced into Egypt by this race of splendid princes were all of Hellenic origin. Athenæus relates that at a grand Bacchic entertainment given by Ptolemy Philadelphus

* Blessed Peter Claver, Apostle of the Negroes, used to contrive that the sufferers in the hospitals at Cartagena, in South America, should be solaced with music; and for centuries it has been a custom at Santo Spirito, in Rome, to have the magnificent organ which is set up in the main ward play three times a week for the patients.

over six hundred musicians formed the orchestra. Musical talent was hereditary in the Ptolemaic dynasty, and the father of Cleopatra was surnamed *Auletes*, or the flute-player, from his excessive attachment to this instrument.

We have little knowledge of music as a science among the Hebrews, but there is abundant proof of its practice. They had music on their festival days, whether domestic, civil, or religious, and professional musicians were attached to the royal court; but the art was systematically studied in the schools of the prophets, and received its highest application in the Temple, where it formed part of divine worship.

The music of the Greeks has engaged the attention of many learned men, but is so difficult a subject that no one understands it; and it is as easy to imagine how the Pyramids were raised as to conceive what Greek music was like.

Music entered largely into the mythology of Greece, and strange legends—some of which are pure myths, others the exaggeration of facts—have been made up about it. The Muses were extremely jealous of their musical talents, and whoever ventured to compete with them was punished. Thus the impudent Sirens or sea-nymphs lost their wings, and the lovely daughters of King Pierus were changed into birds.* Two of Apollo's contests are famous for their mournful ending. One was with Marsyas, a ranger of the woods, who, having found the flute which Minerva threw away because it

* The adventure of Ulysses and the melodious Sirens was a subject early seized upon by Christian art within the Discipline of the Secret to convey an idea of the cross (Ulysses attached to the mast of his vessel), the church (under the figure of a ship), and the seductions of the world (of the flesh particularly) in this voyage of life. See De Rossi's *Bulletin of Christian Archæology for* 1863, page 35, in which a curious monument bearing on this strange *rapprochement* is described.

distorted her handsome features, rashly challenged the divine Apollo to a contest between this instrument and the lyre, the condition of which was that the victor might do what he wished with the vanquished. The Muses decided in favor of their leader, and the miserable mortal was tied to a tree and flayed alive. A statue of Marsyas, bound and suffering, was generally placed by the Greeks, and afterwards by the Romans also, in the vestibule of their halls of justice, as a warning not to go into litigation hastily, and, above all, not to dispute with the gods—*i.e.*, bring religion into court.*

Another triumph of Apollo was over Pan, a *dilettante* of music and inventor of the reed-pipes, which he called *syrinx* after the beautiful Arcadian nymph whose adventure with her tuneful lover is well known from Ovid. Midas, King of Phrygia, was chosen umpire, and, deciding in favor of Pan, was disgraced by having his ears changed into those of a donkey. Poor Midas contrived for a time to conceal his mishap by wearing day and night a cap of a peculiar form;† but as no man is long a hero to his valet, his body-servant, while trimming his hair one day, pushed up the bonnet a little and discovered the deformity. The secret so embarrassed him that, fearing he might unwittingly divulge it, he dug

* One of these old statues having come to light in good condition while the palace of Monte Citorio, designed by Pope Innocent XII. for the seat of the higher tribunals of law at Rome, was being built, it was appropriately placed on the landing at the head of the great stairway. The Italian Deputies have doubtless removed it, as too significant of *divine vengeance*.

† We find in this story the origin of the *Phrygian cap*, which came to be a symbol of slavery and degradation among the Romans, by whom the Phrygians were considered a stupid people—whose rulers even had asinine qualities; and it never quite lost this character, but was used in France up to the time of the Revolution by galley-prisoners, and it is well known that an irruption of escaped convicts into Paris during the Reign of Terror, carrying one of their caps at the end of a pike and singing the *Marseillaise*, gave rise to the absurd custom of the liberty-pole and cap now so common.

a hole in the ground beside a meandering brook and whispered therein : "Midas has ass's ears!" He then filled it up and thought himself secure against himself; but, alas! on the very spot a tell-tale reed grew up, which, as the breezes rocked it to and fro, murmured the fatal secret, "Midas has ass's ears." While this fable may signify one of the ways by which the ancients believed nature to have drawn man's attention to instrumental music—for travellers tell us that in some parts of the world there are plants called vocal or singing reeds, which emit a sweet strain when moved by the wind—it may also be a myth to insinuate that music is a sort of language; and as such, says Metastasio, it has the advantage over poetry which a universal language would have over a particular one, for music can touch all hearts in every age and country, but poetry speaks only to the people of its own age and country. One of the Greek stories of sublimest significance, and which mysteriously enters into early Christian art under the Discipline of the Secret, is the Orphic legend. Orpheus, presented by Apollo with a lyre and instructed in its use by the Muses, was able to tame with his sweet notes the wild beasts that gathered around him, and to enchant even the trees and rocks of Olympus, which started from their places and followed the sounds that charmed them :

> Since naught so stockish, hard, and full of rage
> But music for the time doth change his nature,

as Shakspere remarks. That some animals are amenable to the influence of harmony is certain—hence the success of the Hindoos with their deadly cobras; and some recent botanists are of opinion that the growth of flowers, and especially roses, is stimulated by music. But

whatever slight foundation of fact there may be in the wonders of the *historical* Orpheus, it fades into obscurity beside the noble conception of the *mythical* Orpheus, whose history seems based on a traditional knowledge of the happy state of man in Paradise when all things of earth were subject to him :

> Till disproportioned Sin
> Jarred against Nature's chime, and with harsh din
> Broke the fair music that all creatures made
> To their great Lord, whose love their motion swayed,
> In perfect diapason, whilst they stood
> In first obedience, and their state of good. —*Milton.*

Music is mentioned with a degree of rapture in more than fifty places of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The Lacedæmonians had a flute blazoned on their standards, and the military airs composed by Tyrtæus continued to be played in the Spartan army until the end of the republic.

The Pythagoreans and Platonists not only supposed the soul of man to be a substance very like a disembodied musical instrument of some sort, but believed the universe itself and all its parts to be formed on the principles of harmony ; hence their not altogether imaginary music of the spheres* which enters into their systems of philosophy :

> Look how the floor of heaven
> Is thick inlaid with patines of bright gold :
> *There's not the smallest orb which thou behold'st*
> *But in his motion like an angel sings,*
> *Still quiring to the young-eyed cherubins :*
> Such harmony is in immortal souls ;
> But whilst this muddy vesture of decay
> Doth grossly close it in, we cannot hear it.
> —*Merchant of Venice.*

*Compare the passage in Job xxxviii. 7 : "When the morning stars praised Me together, and all the sons of God made a joyful melody."

And this idea of a close connection between music and the heavenly bodies was still lingering in the minds of some philosophers as late as the eleventh century of our era, when Psellus the younger, treating of music and astronomy, describes the former as symmetry and proportion itself, which reminds one of Hegel's profound and intelligible definition that "music is architecture in time"! Pythagoras especially is said to have regarded music as something celestial, and to have had such an opinion of its powers over the human affections that he ordered his disciples to be waked every morning, and lulled to sleep at night, by the dulcet notes of the lyre or the flute.*

The love and cultivation of music formed so much a part of the discipline of the illustrious men who sprang from the school of Pythagoras that almost every one of them left behind him a treatise on the subject. Plato, in the seventh book of his work on laws, says that children in a well-ordered commonwealth should be instructed for three years in music, which reminds us of the commendable efforts made of late years in Great Britain and the United States to make music a necessary part of popular education, in which connection the late Cardinal Wiseman wrote an interesting letter to the Catholic Poor-School Committee of London in 1849 about "the importance of introducing music more effectually into our system of education."

*Dr. Burney, *History of Music*, vol. i. p. 436, has a note which bears too quaintly on this part of the subject not to be reproduced. He says: "Master Thomas Mace, author of a most delectable book called *Musick's Monument*, would have been an excellent Pythagorean, for he maintains that the mystery of the Trinity is perspicuously made plain by the connection of the three harmonical concords 1, 3, 5; that music and divinity are nearly allied; and that the contemplation of concord and discord, of the nature of the octave and unison, will so strengthen a man's faith 'that he shall never after degenerate into that *gross subbestiacal sin* of Atheism.'"

In the third book of Plato's *Republic* music is treated of at considerable length with reference to education; "for whatever is concerned with the art of music ought somehow to terminate with the love of the beautiful." But to seize the full meaning of this passage we must remember that, in the doctrine of the Academy, *the Good, the True, and the Beautiful* are reciprocal terms, and consequently that music should elevate to the contemplation of the great Godhead — Goodness itself, Truth itself, Beauty itself.

Eloquence was thought by the ancients to be so intimately connected with music that the orators of Greece and Rome had a flute-player standing at a proper distance behind them while they spoke, who kept up an undertone of musical sound, now swelling as the speaker rose with his theme, now gently falling when, as in panegyrics on the dead or in pleadings for mercy, he sought the chords of sorrow or sympathy in the human heart. Musical contests of flutes, trumpets, and other instruments were among the attractions at the public games of Greece; and the profession of music was so highly honored, and often so remunerative, that many musicians lived in splendor. There was Dorion the flute-player, who lived like a Sybarite and was a frequent guest at the table of King Philip of Macedon; there was Ismenias of Thebes, who was sent on an embassy to Persia, and (like the late Duke of Brunswick) had a passion for collecting jewels which his enormous wealth enabled him to gratify to the utmost. He once reproved a smart agent for not having paid as much for a pearl as it was worth, saying that it belittled him in the jeweller's eyes not to have given, and the gem in his own eyes not to have cost, its full value, and sent him back with the surplus money. The flute which he bought at

Corinth for three talents (about $4,000) must have been encrusted with precious stones. Amœbeus, the harper, received an Attic talent (about $1,000) for every appearance on the stage. But although proficients in music were highly honored and rewarded, the mere makers of musical instruments enjoyed no greater esteem than did other artisans, and we know that the comic poets of the time often ridiculed the celebrated orator Isocrates because his father had been able to give him a liberal education with money made by manufacturing flutes. Not only men but women also publicly exhibited their musical accomplishments ; they belonged, however, mostly, if not exclusively, to the class of *Hetairai.* Such was the famous Lamia, whose skill as a flute-player, hardly less than her personal charms, won the heart of King Demetrius.

Passing over to Italy, we can only mention the Sabines and Etruscans, who early cultivated music, and from whom the Romans derived their knowledge of the art ; the former giving them their profane, and the latter their sacred, music. At a later period the genius of Greece banished her ruder rivals and monopolized the art in Rome. It was a general custom among people of rank, towards the end of the republic and under the empire, to keep a private band of musicians; but in the earlier days of Rome music, being almost exclusively devoted to religion, either in the temples or at burial rites, was under government control ; hence it was forbidden in the Twelve Tables to have more than ten flute-players at funerals, and the *Salii*, who were priests of Mars, were obliged, in their annual procession through the city, to accompany their stately tread by a sort of music made by striking their rods of gold on the metal shields which they carried in the hand. The most important corps of

musicians at Rome, and the recognized officials of the art, were the *tibicines*, or pipers, who formed a college, and on one occasion brought the religious affairs of the city to a standstill by seceding in a body, after some real or fancied grievance, to the neighboring town of *Tibur*—the modern Tivoli—from which they were only brought back by the treachery of their hosts, who were bribed by the Romans to make them drunk with wine (Livy, ix. 30).

The "ambubajarum collegia" of Horace, and the Syrian musicians satirized by Juvenal, were held in contempt by the Romans, as not delighting the soul with exalted harmony so much as exciting the instincts to sensual gratification.

# ITALIAN COMMERCE IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

" Your mind is tossing on the ocean;
There, where your argosies with portly sail,
Like signiors and rich burghers of the flood,
Or, as it were, the pageants of the sea,
Do overpeer the petty traffickers,
That curtsy to them, do them reverence,
As they fly by them with their woven wings."

—*Merchant of Venice*, act i. sc. i.

THUCYDIDES, in the introduction to his history, remarks that one of the principal causes that raised some of the Greek cities to such a high degree of prosperity and power was their engagement in mercantile pursuits. All the great peoples of antiquity by whom the shores of the Mediterranean were occupied—Phœnicians, Carthaginians, Etruscans, Ionians of Asia Minor—rose to wealth and importance by the same means. The Romans alone despised it. (Gibbon, iv. p. 75.)

After the subversion of the Western Empire and the last inroads of the barbarians the natives of Italy were the first to emerge from the ruins of the ancient world. Except religion, they found no worthier or more potent element of civilization than commerce, which procures, to use the words of a celebrated writer, what is of far greater value than mere wealth or money—"the reciprocation of the peculiar advantages of different countries"; * and

* Compare Fénelon: D'ailleurs, c'est par un effet de la Providence divine que nulle terre ne porte tout ce qui sert à la vie humaine; car le besoin invite les

throughout the middle ages, until the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope and the discovery of America, Italy was the most forward nation in Christendom for wealth, refinement of manners, and intellectual culture.

Italian commerce reached its greatest development between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries—that is, between the ages when Marco Polo travelled to Tartary, China, and the Indies, and Christopher Columbus discovered America. In these two men, representatives of Venice and Genoa, are embodied the geniuses of trade and navigation ; and as though Florence, seated between the rival cities and engaged rather in reaping the fruits than in sowing the seeds of enterprise, were destined to unite in herself the glory of both Italian shores, one of her citizens—Americus Vespucius—gives his name to the New World. This commerce began slowly but progressed with rapid strides, and attained its noblest proportions during the fourteenth century, when for a hundred years it spread over every sea and land then known in the eager search after riches, bringing back to its votaries whatever luxury Europe, Asia, and Africa produced or man's invention had evolved out of the necessities of his nature. Next, it gradually fell away and almost disappeared in the sixteenth century, leaving behind it only the cold consolation that there was no reason why it alone should be excepted from the common doom of human affairs, which, when they have enjoyed a certain measure of success, must surely decline and fall. *Res humanæ, quæ parvis ex principiis cum multum creverint, postea corruunt* (Pius II.)

When the Goths, Longobards, and Carlovingians had

hommes au commerce, pour se donner mutuellement ce qui leur manque, et ce besoin est le lien mutuel de la société entre les nations : autrement tous les peuples du monde seraient réduits à une seule sorte d'habits et d'aliments ; rien ne les inviterait à se connaître et à s'entrevoir (*Existence de Dieu*, chap. ii.)

conquered Italy, although most of the arts and sciences were lost or hidden in cloisters, neither trade nor commerce was quite neglected ; but, despite the dangers from pirates, the ignorance of the sea, and the exactions of the lawless on land, the Adriatic and Mediterranean were timidly attempted by the inhabitants of the coast, while in the interior of the country an interchange of commodities was carried on between neighboring districts at places set apart for the purpose. These were generally the large square or principal street of a town, or under the walls of a monastery, and the interchange took place on certain days appointed by public authority.

The assemblies of the people were usually held on the Saturday, and were at first called markets, from the Latin *mercatus;* but afterwards the rarer and more important ones, which were held annually and for several consecutive days, were termed fairs, from the Latin word *feria*, because they always took place on the feast of some saint. Many rights and privileges were granted at an early period to the merchants who exhibited wares at these yearly gatherings ; for without such inducements few cared to undertake a journey with a part, or perhaps the whole, of their earthly substance about them, along roads and across ferries beset by robber-nobles, who levied toll from passers-by and sometimes seized goods and persons for their own use.*

The Venetians began earlier to sail on distant seas, and maintained themselves longer on the water, than did the natives of any other parts of Italy. Cassiodorus represents them in the sixth century as occupied solely in salt-works, from which they derived their only profit ; but in course of time they issued from their lagoons to become the most industrious and venturesome traffick-

* See Hallam, *Europe during the Middle Ages*, chap. ix.

ers in the world. At the beginning of the ninth century they had already introduced into Italy some of the delicacies of the East, but drew odium on themselves for conniving with pirates and men-stealers to capture people and sell them into slavery in distant quarters of Europe and Asia. On the opposite shore of Italy the inhabitants of Amalfi showed themselves the most successful navigators during the early middle ages, trading with Sicily and Tarentum, and even with Egypt, Syria, and Constantinople. Their city is described by the poet-historian William of Apulia, in the eleventh century, as the great mart for Eastern goods, and the enterprise of its sailors as extending to all the ports of the Mediterranean. Flavio Gioja, a citizen of Amalfi, if he did not invent the mariner's compass, as is somewhere asserted, certainly improved it about the year 1302, either by its mode of suspension or by the attachment of the card to the needle itself. This discovery gave such an impulse to navigation that what had been for ages hardly more than a skilful art became at once a science, and vessels no longer crept along the shore or slipped from island to island, but attempted "the vasty deep" and crossed over the ocean to the New World:

*For this the desire of gain devised; and the workman built it by his skill.*

*But Thy providence, O Father, governeth it: for thou hast made a way even in the sea, and a most sure path among the waves.*

*Showing that Thou art able to save out of all things, yea, though a man went to sea without art.*

*But that the works of Thy wisdom might not be idle: therefore men trust their lives even to a small piece of wood, and, passing over the sea in a ship, are saved* (Wisdom xiv. 2–5).

Another rich emporium at an early period, on the same side of Italy, was Pisa. The city was four or five miles from the sea, but had a port formed by a natural bay to the southward of the old mouth of the Arno at a place called Calambrone. The Pisans at first traded principally with Sicily and Africa. They fitted out expeditions against the Saracens,* seized several islands in the Mediterranean, and with both land-troops and seamen took an important part in the first Crusade, being careful, before returning from the East, to establish factories at Antioch and Constantinople. They also sent fleets to humble the Mohammedan cities of Northern Africa. Through commercial jealousy and political reasons they became involved in bitter wars with the Genoese for the possession of Corsica, and with the Amalfitans, who had sided against the emperor. The Pisans, as auxiliaries of the Emperor Lothaire, sent a strong squadron to Amalfi, which was held by the Normans, and, after a rigorous blockade, took it by storm in 1137. It was on this occasion that a copy of the long-lost Pandects of Justinian was found, which is said to be the original from which all subsequent copies in Italy were made, thus reviving the study of Roman law.† It was taken from its captors by the Florentines in 1411, and is now preserved in the Laurentian Library at Florence. The monk Donizo, in his metrical life of the Countess Matilda, being annoyed that the mother of the countess should have been buried in Pisa, describes the city somewhat contemptuously as a flourishing emporium

* The Cathedral of Pisa, one of the most remarkable monuments of the middle ages, owes its origin to such an expedition; for it was built with part of the rich booty taken from the Saracens at Palermo in the year 1063.

† This fact, though not improbable, seems hardly to rest upon sufficient evidence. Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, tom. iii. libro iv., discusses the question with his usual erudition.

whose port was filled with large ships and frequented by many different races of people, even by swarthy Moors.

To the north of Pisa rose her haughty rival, Genoa, surnamed the Superb from her pride and magnificent natural position. After four sanguinary wars with the Pisans, the Genoese swept their fleets from the sea, destroyed their port, and ruined their foreign commerce. The city never recovered from so many disasters, and the population, which once exceeded 100,000, has fallen to a fifth of that number.

The Genoese had at first been the allies of the Pisans, and united with them to drive the Saracens out of several important islands. They also ravaged the coast of Northern Africa in the eleventh century, and, taking part in the first Crusade, obtained settlements on the shore of Palestine, particularly at Acre. Owing to their secure position at home, and their foothold in the East and the islands of the West, their city became one of the two great maritime powers of Italy and the only noteworthy rival of Venice. The power of the Genoese and Venetians was immensely increased by the Crusades, and at one time so feared were they in the Levant that they were able to draw pensions and exact tribute from the pusillanimous emperor at Constantinople. The Venetians were especially favored by Alexius Comnenus, through whom they acquired convenient establishments along the Bosporus and at Durazzo in Albania. Their doge was honored with the pompous title of *Protosebaste*. In the meanwhile intestine disturbances and wars with neighboring republics had reduced several of those cities which had lately been most flourishing, and none could compete successfully in the fourteenth century with Venice and Genoa, to which the foreign trade of Italy was left, and to whose marts the produce of the

Levant and the countries bordering on the lower Mediterranean was brought, and either there or at the great cities of the interior exchanged for domestic manufactures and the industries of Central and Northern Europe. The carrying trade was almost exclusively their own, but the home or inland business was shared by many other cities—principally by Bologna, Ferrara, Florence, Lucca, and Milan. At that period the Atlantic Ocean and northern coasts of Europe were but rarely navigated by Italian merchants. The Venetians alone despatched annually a large fleet, which—taking its name, the Flanders fleet, from its destination—carried on an enterprising and lucrative traffic with the Low Countries, and, in connection with the Hanseatic League or directly, spread over England, Scotland, and the nations lying on the North Sea and the Baltic the spices, gums, silks, pearls, diamonds, and numerous other articles of oriental origin which they had procured from the Levant and further Indies. The Genoese furnished the same things to the French, Spaniards, and Moors of Andalusia ; but Portugal was served by their rivals.

A maritime power had risen before this time which disputed with the Genoese and Venetians the ascendency on the Mediterranean. This was Barcelona, whose sailors were among the best on the sea, and whose merchants were largely engaged in commerce. Many bold encounters took place between the Catalans and Italians, through jealousies of trade, but the former finally succumbed.

The products of the more distant East reached Italy in Genoese and Venetian ships, through Armenian merchants at Trebizond, and through Arabs by way of Alexandria and Damascus. Those of the north, so neces-

sary for a seafaring people, were brought from the mouth of the Don, the merchandise being floated down that great river in boats from the interior. The Mongols were the masters of all the region thereabouts ; but the insinuating Italians, aware of the value of this branch of commerce, played upon their barbarous pride with so much dexterity that they succeeded in making treaties with them by which they were allowed to occupy certain trading-posts where the goods ordered might accumulate and their own wares be exchanged for the productions of Russia, Tartary, and Persia. The wily Genoese had bought from a Tartar prince, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, a small piece of land on the southeastern shore of the Crimea on which to build a factory. Only a few rude cabins were raised at first, for stores and the dwellings of their agents ; but the traffic soon brought together a large population, sumptuous palaces were erected, a strong and lofty wall was built around, and Kaffa * became one of the most opulent colonies of the republic, with a population at one time of 80,000.

The rival Venetians had *their* great deposit at the city of Azov, on the banks of the Don, twenty miles from its mouth. They were not the proprietors, and, although they received numerous favors from the Tartar governor, they were obliged to share them with the Genoese, Florentines, and others, who also did a flourishing business. The amount of goods collected there was so immense and the value so considerable that when, as sometimes happened, a destructive fire broke out or the

* This city was taken from the Genoese by the Turks in 1474, but the Christians were not all driven out. The late Father Theiner has published an interesting letter from the Papal Nuncio in Poland in 1579, in which he mentions having met some Kaffa people at Wilna and tells of their strange manner of obtaining a priest, reminding one a little of Michas and the Levite in Judges xvii.

place was plundered, the loss was felt as a shock to commerce throughout the whole of Europe.

All along the coast of the Black Sea the Italians plied a profitable trade, and many merchants were settled at Trebizond, from which vantage-ground they had an important communication open with Armenia, whose people, being united by religion to the Latins, granted them very valuable commercial privileges. The Venetians were favored above the rest. They had churches, magazines, and inns, coined money, and in all matters in dispute were tried by judges chosen among their countrymen, or rather their own fellow-citizens. They could introduce their goods without paying duty, freely traverse the kingdom, and monopolize the exportation of camel's hair, which was an important article of traffic. The Genoese were no less enterprising than their rivals, and restored in the port of Trebizond a mole that had been built by the Roman Emperor Hadrian. Large quantities of India goods, and especially spiceries, were stored by Italian merchants in the warehouses of Trebizond, Damascus, and Alexandria. There were several overland routes by which this merchandise was transported, but none of them was safe, on account of the frequent revolutions in the countries through which they ran. Some of the caravans that brought the commodities of India and China passed through Balkh, the *Bactria* of the ancients and at one time the commercial centre of eastern Asia, then up to Bokhara, whence they descended the Oxus for a distance, touched at Khiva, and, traversing the Caspian Sea, ascended the river Kour (the *Cyrus* of Strabo, xi. p. 509) for seventy miles to its junction with the Aras (the *Araxes* of Herodotus, iv. 40), from which they crossed by a journey of four or five days into the historical Phasis at Sharapan and

down to the Euxine. Another beaten track entered Syria by the Tigris and the Euphrates, and diverged towards the several ports of Palestine and Asia Minor. It passed through Bagdad, which was a great commercial emporium during the middle ages and an entrepôt for the commodities of eastern and western Asia. A memorial of those days when Frank merchants, mingling with Persians, Arabs, Turks, Hindoos, Koords, and Armenians, ransacked her splendid bazaars, remains in our language in the word *Baldachin*, because canopies made of costly stuff interwoven with gold thread were manufactured in this city, which was known to the Italians as Baldacca, and in the adjective form Baldacchino. Much trade was also done by way of the Red Sea, Cairo, and Alexandria.

In all the ports of the Euxine and Mediterranean the Italians had shops and warehouses, and every rich company kept a number of factors, who despatched goods as they got orders and maintained the interests of their principals. An officer called a Consul, who was appointed by the government at home, resided in each of these foreign seaports, to defend the rights of his countrymen and decide differences among themselves or between them and strangers. Consuls were recognized as official personages by the sovereign in whose territory they resided, and were honored as public magistrates by their own people, from whom they received certain fees for their support, according to the quality and amount of business they were called upon to perform.

The maritime republics of Italy were very fortunate in having transported the Crusaders to the Holy Land in their ships, for by this they acquired many rich establishments in the Levant,* and it was not long before the

* "The Crusades, from which the inhabitants of other countries gained no-

dissolute and degraded Greeks, who would neither take counsel in peace nor could defend themselves in war, became subject to the imperious will of the Italians.

The Venetians obtained in 1204 the fertile island of Candia, which became the centre of their extensive Egyptian and Asiatic trade. They also had a quarter in Constantinople which they surrounded by a wall, the gates of which were guarded by their own soldiers, and a distinct anchorage for their own vessels in the Golden Horn. A senate and bailiff representing the doge held authority in this settlement, and exercised jurisdiction over the minor establishments of the republic in Roumelia.

The Genoese were even more powerful at the capital, and the Emperor Michael Palæologus, who was indebted to them for his return to the throne, had given them the beautiful suburbs of Pera and Galata, on an elevated plateau, which they made secure, under the elder Andronicus, by a moat and triple row of walls. To these places they transferred their stores and stock ; nor was it long before the churches, palaces, warehouses, and public buildings of Pera vied in magnificence with those of the metropolis itself. The island of Chios, where gummastic was collected and the finest wine produced, was another of their colonies. These were all ruled by a *podestà* annually sent from Genoa. The Genoese and Venetians had also factories in Barbary, through which they drove a brisk trade with the interior of Africa. To them more than to any others was it due that for three hundred years the commerce of Italy was famous from the Straits of Gibraltar to the remotest gulf in the Euxine.

thing but relics and wounds, brought the rising commonwealths of the Adriatic and Tyrrhene seas a large increase of wealth, dominion, and knowledge" (Macaulay).

The maritime strength of the Italian republics, especially of Genoa and Venice, corresponded to their vast commercial interests and the number of colonies they were expected to enlarge and defend. Thus, the Pisans in 1114 sent an armament, consisting of 300 vessels of various sizes, carrying 35,000 men and 900 horses, to the conquest of the Balearic Islands, which had become a nest of Moorish pirates. A great part of these troops were mercenaries procured from all parts of the world, and contingents drawn from their possessions in Sardinia. In 1293 the Genoese fitted out in a single month, against the Venetians, 200 galleys, each of which bore from 220 to 300 combatants recruited within the continental limits of the republic ; and in the vast arsenal of Venice during the fourteenth century 800 men were continually at work, and 200 galleys, not to count the smaller craft, were kept ready in port for any emergency that might arise. Such formidable fleets were manned either by voluntary enlistments or impressment ; the hope of heavy plunder, according to the barbarous war-system of those days, which the church strove against but could not wholly change, appealing to young men to serve as sailors or marines. The furious rivalry between Genoa and Venice began to show itself soon after the taking of Constantinople by the Franks in 1244, each desiring to reap alone the profits of the Levant trade. After many bloody encounters a peace was patched up in 1298, by which the latter was excluded for thirteen years from the Black Sea, along whose shores the former had colonies, forts, and factories, and was forbidden to send armed vessels to Syria. Terms so propitious raised the pride and influence of Genoa to the highest pitch; and feared by all, and claiming to be mistress of the seas, she upheld the honor of her flag with extravagant

solicitude. In 1332 she wasted the coast of Catalonia with a force of 200 galleys, and inflicted great injury on the commerce of Barcelona; and two years later, having captured twelve ships of the enemy, heavily freighted with merchandise, in the waters of Sicily, Cyprus, and Sardinia, with an example of ferocious cruelty which only the "accursed greed of gold" and a determination to exclude the Catalans from any share in Eastern commerce could prompt, six hundred prisoners were hanged at a single execution. She was resolved to command the seas, and consequently the trade of the world; but her Adriatic rival, although defeated, was not conquered, and the fourth war broke out between them in 1372 for possession of the classical island of Tenedos, so valuable as a naval station and renowned for its wheat and excellent red wine. The Genoese actually got into the lagoons of Venice, vowing to reduce her to the stagnant level of the waters, and approached so near to the city that their admiral could shout to the affrighted people on the quays, *Delenda est Carthago!* but by a singular freak of fortune they were themselves at this point totally defeated, and glad to accept the mediation of Amadeus VI., Duke of Savoy. It was agreed that neither party should have the island in dispute, but that the duke should hold it at their common expense for two years and then dismantle the fortress.

During this war, called the War of Chioggia, which lasted until 1381, an unusually large number of corsairs roved the seas; but the Italians had long practised piracy, and whole communities were corsairs by profession, just as on land *condottieri* could be hired to sack cities and castles and desolate an entire province. The little town of Monaco was notorious during the middle ages for its pirates, as it still is for its ravenous land-sharks.

There were two sorts of corsairs. Some were private individuals who went to sea through lust of gain, or because driven from their homes during the fights of faction, and seized whatever they could. These robberies and depredations marked piracy in its original form. Nevertheless during the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries many otherwise honorable characters, who were often cruelly despoiled of their patrimony and driven as outcasts from their native cities, took to this occupation not entirely from inclination, but impelled by the injustice of their countrymen. We may recall as an extenuating circumstance what that grave judge, Lord Stowell, observed (2 Dods. 374) of the Buccaneers, whose spirit at one time approached to that of chivalry in point of adventure, and whose manner of life was thought to reflect no disgrace upon distinguished Englishmen who engaged in it.

Other corsairs were patriotic citizens who armed their ships to injure the enemy during lawful hostilities; and although there was abuse in the system, they were not pirates, but privateersmen. Foreign nations used to buy ships from the Italians to increase their own armaments, or engage them to harass their opponents. It is curious, considering how completely maritime supremacy has deserted the Mediterranean for northern seas, to know that the poet Chaucer was sent by King Edward III. in November, 1372, as envoy to the republic of Genoa to hire vessels for his navy; and Tytler says (*Hist. of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 261) that in the same century many of the privateers employed by the Scots against England appear to have been vessels of larger dimensions and more formidable equipment than those of their enemy, probably from their being foreign built,

and furnished by the Genoese or the Venetians, for the purposes both of piracy and trade.

It was now that the word *Jane* came into the language—Chaucer and Spenser use it—for a small coin so-called from Janua (Genoa). It is termed in the old English statutes a *galley half-pence.*

The Florentines had originally no seaboard, and were obliged to charter ships wherever they could. In 1362, having taken into the service of the republic Pierin Grimaldi of Genoa, with two galleys, and hired two more vessels, their little fleet captured the island of Giglio from the Pisans, and the following year, having broken into the port of Pisa itself, they took away the chains that protected it and hung them as trophies on the porphyry columns of their Baptistery.

The foreign commerce for which the maritime cities of Italy, and particularly Venice and Genoa, so savagely disputed, to the scandal of the Christian name among the infidels, as the old English traveller Sir John de Mandeville shows, was certainly very considerable, and a source of almost fabulous profit to those engaged in it who were fortunate in their ventures. Commerce was the foundation of Italy's prosperity, which was greater than that of any other European country from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. The Italian merchants got cottons, silken goods, brocades, Cashmere shawls, spices, rhubarb and other medicines, amber, indigo, pearls and diamonds from India and Central Asia. From Persia there came silks, carpets, skins, and manufactured articles used by the great for clothing or for the comfort of their homes. Tartary and Russia furnished hemp, canvas, ship-timber, tar, wax, caviare, raw-hides, and peltries. From the ports of Syria and Asia Minor, and

particularly from Smyrna, were shipped to Italy hare-skins, leather, camel's hair, valonia, cotton stuffs, damasks, dried fruits, beeswax, drugs and electuaries, arms, armor, and cutlery; and many articles of Asiatic luxury and magnificence found their way thence through Italian merchants to the courts and castles of England, Scotland, France, Germany, and other northern nations. Greece sent fine wines, raisins, currants, filbert-nuts, silk, and alum. A large quantity of grain was brought into Italy from Egypt and the Barbary States; but the supply to the colonies in the Levant came mostly from the Black Sea. Wool, wax, sheep-skins, and morocco came from the Moorish provinces of Africa. These were the principal imports, and were exchanged for the products and manufactures of Italy and the countries to the north, for which the Italians acted as agents. The Genoese exported immense quantities of woven fabrics from the looms of Lombardy and Florence, fine linens from Bologna, and cloths of a coarser make from France,* for which a ready market was found in the East and among the Italians settled in the Archipelago and Levant. The oils of Provence and the Riviera of Genoa, soaps, saffron, and coral, were also largely exported. Quicksilver was a valuable article in the hands of the Venetians, who got it from Istria and sold it in Spain and the Levant; they also extracted a great amount of salt from Istria and Dalmatia, which was disposed of at a good profit in Lombardy and other parts of Italy. Sardinia, Sicily, and Naples also did a large foreign business; the last city importing cargoes of delicate Greek and Oriental wines, such as the famous Cyprian,

* St. *Francis* (of Assisi), who is said to have been the first to bear this name was born during his father's absence in *France* on a merchant venture, and received it on his return in memory of his success in that country.

Malmsey, and Muscatel, much of which was sent to different parts of Italy, and into England and the Netherlands. Spain, Portugal, and Flanders were supplied with the products of the Indies and Levant principally by Genoese and Venetian merchants. The latter especially had many privileges and fiscal exemptions in Flanders, and in returning from the North loaded their ships in Portugal with tin, silver bars, wines, and raisins; while the former had the greater part of the trade with the Moors of Africa and southern Spain, from whom, in return for spiceries and other Eastern products, they got gold, cordovans, and merino wool, which were sold to advantage in France and Italy.

The Italians were the best cloth-weavers in Europe in the fourteenth century, although the Flemings were not contemptible rivals. The manufacture of cloth was industriously carried on in many of their cities—in those of Tuscany particularly, the finest kind of work being done in Lucca. When this city was taken by Uguccione della Faggiuola, in 1314, the factories and goods were destroyed, and many citizens emigrated to other parts of Italy, and even into France, Germany, and England. Yet long before this Italian operatives had introduced, or at least improved, the art in the northern countries. Crapes, taffetas, velvets, silks, camelots, and serges were extensively made in Italy, the richest quality being sold at Florence, where the home industries seemed to centre, and only the most skilled artisans were employed. The art of weaving wool was practised by thousands of citizens, and, nominally at least, by some of the noblest families of the city and *contado* (commune), since there was a law that no one could aspire to public office unless he were a member of one of the trades' corporations of the republic. The citizens of Florence were

classed from the year 1266 into twelve companies of trades or professions, seven of which were called *arti maggiori*, viz., 1, lawyers and attorneys; 2, dealers in foreign stuffs; 3, bankers and money-changers; 4, woollen manufacturers and drapers; 5, physicians and apothecaries; 6, silk manufacturers and mercers; 7, furriers. The lower trades were called *arti minori*. The records of these corporations are now preserved in a part of the Uffizi palace devoted to the public archives of Florence. They range from A.D. 1300 to the end of the eighteenth century. Around the hall, which was fitted up a few years ago to receive them, are the portraits of some of the distinguished men who belonged to these guilds: Dante, Cosimo de' Medici, Francesco Guicciardini, and others. Balmes gives an interesting account, after Capmany, in his *European Civilization*, p. 476, of "the trades-unions and other associations which, established under the influence of the Catholic religion, commonly placed themselves under the patronage of some saint, and had pious foundations for the celebration of their feasts and for assisting each other in their necessities." Although his long note refers principally to the industrial organization of the city of Barcelona, it is acknowledged that Catalonia borrowed many of its customs and usages in this matter from the towns of Italy.

Before the middle of the fourteenth century there were over two hundred drapers' shops in Florence, in which from seventy to eighty thousand pieces of cloth were made every year, to the value of 1,200,000 gold florins, and employing more than thirty thousand people. The historian John Villani says that the trade had been still more flourishing, when there were three hundred shops open and one hundred thousand pieces were made

yearly, but that they were of a coarser quality and consequently did not bring as much money into the city, although more people got work. The art of dyeing cloths and other stuffs was cultivated by the Italians during the middle ages with considerable success. Alum, which is much used for this purpose, was eagerly sought after, and the Genoese obtained from Michael Palæologus, on payment of an annual sum, the exclusive right of extracting it from a certain mine in the Morea that had previously been worked by Arabs, Catalans, and others. The lessees began operations with a force of fifty men, and soon built a castle to protect themselves, and finally a town, which was destroyed by the Turks in 1455. The Florentines were so expert in dyeing wool that the material was sent to them for the purpose from other parts of Italy, and even from Germany and the Netherlands. It was only in 1858 that an immense wooden building for stretching and drying cloth in the sun, called *Il tiratoio della lana*, which they had used for over five hundred years, was torn down as too liable to catch fire.

The cloths of France and other northern countries found a sale in Florence, not so much for home use as for exportation through the Genoese and Venetians. An exception, however, must be made for a rich article called *say*, manufactured in Ireland, and esteemed so beautiful as to be worn by the ladies of that refined city.* John Villani, already mentioned, says that there was a quarter of Florence called Calimala, containing twenty stores of the coarser cloths of the North, of which thirty thousand pieces, of the value of three hundred thousand gold florins, were yearly imported.

Florence in the middle ages had a territory extending

* McPherson's *Annals of Commerce*, vol. i. p. 562.

only a few miles round its walls; but the industry and speculative spirit of its citizens wonderfully enriched them, and, since "all things obey money" (Ecclesiastes x. 19), they soon became the predominant power, and finally the masters in Tuscany. They were money-changers, money-lenders, jewellers, and goldsmiths for the whole of Europe and no little part of the East. The elements of a business education were given to its youth in numerous schools, attended by some twelve hundred boys, who were taught arithmetic and book-keeping. A great deal of money circulated within the city itself, and a large amount was necessary, particularly before the introduction of bills of exchange, to accommodate merchants in their visits to other countries. The public mint coined annually during the fourteenth century from three hundred and fifty thousand to four hundred thousand gold florins, and about twenty thousand pounds weight of coppers, called *danari da quattro*, or half-farthings; and eighty private banks assisted the circulation. The beautiful golden florins were first coined in the year 1252, bearing on one side the impression of St. John Baptist, the patron, and on the other that of a lily, the device of the city. This was considered the finest coin in the world, and so much admired that many princes and governments began to imitate it while preserving its original name, and consequently perpetuating the monetary renown of Florence. It was current in Europe, Asia, and Africa. The workmanship of the Florentines was so superior that they were often called upon to conduct or superintend the coinage in foreign countries. During the reign of King David II., in the first half of the thirteenth century, he appointed a Florentine one of the two keepers of the exchange for all Scotland and masters of the mint, and

under King Robert III. (1390–1424) gold was minted for that kingdom by Bonaccio of Florence.* In 1278 the Exchange at London was under the direction of some Lucca merchants, and it seems to be directly from the Italian that we get our English word cash, derived from *cassa*, the chest in which Italian merchants kept their money. We may have some idea of what a money-centre Florence was in that age from the fact that the notorious French adventurer, the Duke of Athens, who was elected Lord of Florence in 1342, contrived in the course of only ten months to draw four hundred thousand golden florins out of the city. The Florentines, who had the reputation of being the smartest people in Italy, were extremely fond of banking in all its branches. While the middle and lower orders of society were mostly engaged in mechanical occupations, the higher classes handled the money, and would appear to have taken lessons of the Jews. The great feudal nobles of the north, with more land than gold, would often ask their chaplains to reprove them with some holy text of Scripture —Ecclesiasticus x. 10 † being a favorite one—when interest was demanded or mortgages were forfeited. They were not by any means the only Italians who publicly courted the queen *Regina Pecunia ;* the ancient name in England for a banker, which was *Lombard*, and the street in London called Lombard Street, preserving the memory of the Milanese and others out of Lombardy who took up their first residence there before the year 1274, and were great money-changers and usurers. The stupendous fortunes of the Chigi, who gave Pope Alex-

* Innes, *Scotland in the Middle Ages*, p. 309.

† "There is not a more wicked thing than to love money, for such a one setteth even his own soul to sale: because while he liveth he hath cast away his bowels" of compassion.

ander VII. to the Church and are now Roman princes, and before them of the Medici family, which became royal, were amassed chiefly in the banking business ; but it is a popular error that the well-known sign of the pawnbrokers' three gilt balls is derived from the armorial bearings of the latter, which their agents in England and other countries placed over the doors of their loan-shops. The arms of the Medici were *or*, six torteaux *gules* except the one in chief, which was *azure* charged with three fleurs-de-lis *or*. Whether these roundlets had any allusion, as has been suggested, to doctors' pills and the professional origin whence the family name is supposed to be derived, we cannot determine ; but the gold pieces called bezants because coined at Constantinople —Byzantium—and so common at an early period in Italy that the saying *Aver buoni Bisanzi* was a proverbial expression of one who had plenty of money, seem to have been early the distinguishing sign of money-lenders and changers, and are the true origin of the pawnbrokers' balls.

The shrewdness of the Italians in money matters did not always save them from disastrous failures and bankruptcies caused by wars, breach of faith in persons too high to be reached, loss of goods and bullion by fire, piracy, shipwreck, and other accidents. The first great failure of this kind was that of a mercantile company in 1296, which had existed for one hundred and twenty years, and became insolvent for 400,000 gold florins, due to citizens and strangers. It was felt throughout the republic of Florence like the loss of a battle. Even worse was the failure of the Bardi and Peruzzi in 1347. They were both merchants and bankers, and stood at the head of their class in Italy. Loans to the kings of England and Sicily brought them down. The first owed

them 900,000 and the second 450,000 gold florins. These were unavailable assets when the 550,000 florins they owed their fellow-citizens and others began to be called for, and therefore they broke. This downfall carried with it a large number of smaller houses, and among them that of Corsini, of the since princely family of that name, which gave St. Andrew and Pope Clement XII. to the Church. The celebrated historian John Villani was a great loser by this failure, and was even imprisoned in the *Stinche* in consequence of it as an insolvent. The law punished fraudulent failures very severely; but if it could be proved that the failures resulted from unavoidable accidents the debtors were allowed to go free, after surrendering all they possessed to their creditors. For the convenience of customers the bank-offices used to be on the ground-floor of the houses—sometimes palaces—the masters living above. The rate of discount on exchange was from one and one-half to two per cent., and four per cent. on sums advanced. Jacques Savary, in his *Parfait Négociant*, says that the invention of bills of exchange is due to French Jews who were driven out of France by Philip the Fair in 1316 and took refuge in Lombardy. By means of such bills they were able to get the value of the property they had left in the hands of friends. They were imitated by certain Ghibellines who, being exiled, went to Amsterdam and saved some of their goods left in Italy. In negotiating these bills and effecting the sale of goods persons called *sensali* (brokers) were employed.

No duties were levied on exports, but imported goods had to be stored in government buildings called *dogane* —*i.e.*, custom-houses, or, perhaps more accurately, bonded warehouses—from which, although they might be hypothecated, they could be withdrawn only after pay-

ment of a certain sum. There was a chamber of commerce called *Mercanzia* at Florence, and all the other commercial cities had their merchants' exchange for the transaction of business, the sordid use to which they were put being often disguised by the beauties of architecture, painting, and sculpture. Thus, the *Sala del Cambio* at Perugia was decorated with frescoes by the celebrated Pietro Perugino, assisted by his immortal pupil Raphael of Urbino.

In all seaports there were certain judges, elected by and from among the merchants, who composed a tribunal called *Consolato di Mare.* They settled disputes between traders and ship-owners, gave assistance in distress, and watched over the interests of commerce. The origin of such boards of trade was very ancient among the Italians, for as early as the year 1129 one was established at Messina. It is said that the Pisans were the first to make laws regulating navigation, and that their code was approved in 1075 by Pope Gregory VII.* There was no appeal from the decisions of these admiralty courts, and in cases of fraud or other misdemeanor the guilty party was punished by public authority.

Sericulture began in Italy in the fourteenth century, and was practised with success, especially in Lombardy. The statutes of Modena obliged the peasants to plant a large number of mulberry-trees, in order to promote it.

The wide extent of Italian commerce and the industrial prosperity of Italy, which was a consequence of it, greatly enriched her higher classes and led to the most extravagant luxury during the latter part of the middle ages. Nations now reckoned highly civilized, and where the comforts of life are within the reach of all, were then badly clothed and poorly fed. The effeminacy of the

* Muratori, *Ant. Ital.*, tom. ii. p. 54.

wealthier Italians during the fourteenth century, when commerce was most extended, caused them to despise, amidst the delicacies of the East and the fruits of their own intelligence, the rude simplicity of their more northern neighbors. Even the lower classes among them felt a desire for greater convenience and refinement. Dante, Boccaccio, the chroniclers, and other writers of this period portray or lament the ever-increasing luxury of the age, and we can gather from them an accurate idea of the style of living and magnificence of the patricians in their provisions, furniture, and dress during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Nuptial entertainments and civic festivals were the occasions of most display; and Chaucer, who had partaken of such, writes probably as much from recollection as after Petrarch, whom he has imitated, when he describes the preparations for Griselda's wedding to the young Marquis of Saluce (*Canterbury Tales*).

The women were particularly dainty, and many sumptuary laws were enacted to restrain the excess of refinement in houses, furniture, and apparel. A very fine sort of thin, transparent linen, made in Cyprus, was much worn by the female sex. It resembled, but was not quite so indecent as, the *Coa vestis* of the ancients. They also carried much jewelry, and were clothed in garments worked in silver and gold stuff. Their minds naturally ran on money:

> "*Julia.* What thinkest thou of the rich Mercatio?
> *Lucetta.* Well of his wealth; but of himself, so so;"
> —*Two Gentlemen of Verona*, act i. sc. 2.

The habits and head-dress of the men were often bespangled with precious stones, and their whole attire answered to their haughty bearing, which bespoke suc-

cessful foreign ventures and a splendid style maintained at home. In innumerable ways they exemplified Dr. Johnson's observation : "With what munificence a great merchant will spend his money, both from his having it at command and from his enlarged views by calculation of a good effect upon the whole." Few of them would have dared to say with *Bassanio :*

> " Gentle lady,
> When I did first impart my love to you,
> I freely told you all the wealth I had
> Ran in my veins : I was a gentleman."
> —*Merchant of Venice*, act iii. sc. 2.

because, as Juvenal bitterly exclaims,

> " Nil habet infelix paupertas durius in se,
> Quam quod *ridiculos* homines facit."

When Shakspere uses the expression "royal merchant" in the play from which we have just quoted, it is, as Warburton remarks, no ranting epithet ; for several Italian merchant families obtained principalities in the Archipelago and elsewhere, which their descendants enjoyed for many generations, and others of their class made sovereign alliances. For instance, James, King of Cyprus, married Catherine Cornaro, daughter of a Venetian merchant, who gave her a dowry of 100,000 golden ducats.* Knowledge and prosperity continued to advance together in Italy, and there can be no doubt that the Medici were able to ally the spirit of literary research to that of commercial enterprise; but there is some rhetorical exaggeration in the remark of Macaulay that "every place to which the merchant-princes of Florence

* The ducat was the great money of Venice, as the florin was of Florence, and bears in its name a proof of the more aristocratic government of the former city. The first gold ducats were coined by the Doge John Dandolo in 1280, and are inscribed IO. DANDVL. DVX.

extended their gigantic traffic, from the bazaars of the Tigris to the monasteries of the Clyde, was ransacked for medals and manuscripts." Trade has no qualities that should entitle a man to superiority; and, as good old Dr. Johnson once plainly put it, there is nothing in trade itself connected with mental culture, although a merchant may perhaps be a man of enlarged mind. The promoters of trade and commerce are usually the most selfish of men. Their first aim is to benefit themselves:

> " Impiger extremos curris mercator ad Indos,
> Per mare pauperiem fugiens, per saxa, per ignes."
>
> —*Horace, Epist. I.*

# SCANDERBEG.

" Oh ! how comely it is, and how reviving
To the spirits of just men long oppressed,
When God into the hands of their deliverer
Puts invincible might
To quell the mighty of the earth, th' oppressor,
The brute and boist'rous force of violent men,
Hardy and industrious to support
Tyrannic power, but raging to pursue
The righteous and all such as honor Truth."

—*Samson Agonistes.*

THE Turks, from their first appearance upon European soil, have been a danger to the peace and civilization of Christendom. When their fierce hordes crossed the Bosporus, bearing aloft the standard of the crescent, it was a boast among them that this sign was but a passing emblem of their power, and that when she had waxed to the fulness of her orb—*donec Lunæ totus impleatur orbis*, as was insolently said to an ambassador of the West—her silvery sheen would change to the golden glory of the sun, and blaze from an eastern sky over prostrate and Mohammedan Europe.

With one foot upon Constantinople and the other on Rome,* the colossus of Islam would have projected an awful shadow over the Christian world. Efforts tremendous and long sustained were made to keep itself up ; but this it could never do, and it has fallen and is

* It was a common threat of the more ambitious sultans that they would some day feed their horses at the tomb of St. Peter.

broken, but in its fall covers fair provinces and crushes a multitude of unfortunate Christians. If the Turks have ceased to be a stirring menace to the nations we must ascribe the curbing of their power to divine Providence, which brought forward at critical times a number of men mighty by the sword or through the word—Huniades, Matthias Corvinus, Ladislas of Hungary, St. John Capistran, Cardinal Julian Cesarini, Scanderbeg, St. Pius V., Don John of Austria, Mark Anthony Colonna, Sobieski, and others—who fought their advance towards the Adriatic and along the Danube. As this great Ottoman inundation rose higher and higher, until it seemed as though the work of the church for a thousand years would be swept away in fewer days, God spoke: "I set my bounds around it, and made it bars and doors; and I said: Hitherto thou shalt come, and shalt go no further, and here thou shalt break thy swelling waves" (Job xxxviii.)

In the fifteenth century several independent princelings, called *despots* by the Greeks, were in possession of the rich and populous district of Albania, which stretches along the coast of the Adriatic and Mediterranean Seas, and corresponds geographically to the Epirus of the ancients. One of the noblest of these chiefs was John Castriot, who came of an ancient family in Lower Macedonia. His wife, Woïzava, presented him with nine children, and among them that George, born in 1404, who was destined to become the defender of his persecuted race, the Christian Gideon, as he was hailed by Pope Paul II., and the hero of his native country against the Turks. Several omens are reported to have accompanied his birth and signified his future greatness. Without denying that these may have been something more than mere accidents or freaks of the

imagination, we only certify that as the child grew up he developed a strength of character and an aptitude for arms which his after-successes amply justified and the inherent nobility of his parents had prepared :

"*Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis ;*
. . . *nec imbellem feroces*
*Progenerant aquilæ columbam.*" *

—*Horace.*

Sultan Mohammed I. had invaded Albania in 1413, and obliged John Castriot to deliver up his four young sons to him as hostages. He immediately, and against the solemn promise made to their father, caused them to be circumcised and educated in the Mussulman religion. George, our hero, was the youngest. He was endowed with a prodigious memory, and soon learned to speak the Greek, Turkish, Arab, Illyrian, and Italian languages. A handsome person, unusual bodily strength, and vigorous mental qualities won for him the warm affection of the next sovereign, Amurath II., who changed George's name to *Scanderbeg*—*i.e.*, Beg or Lord Alexander—and at the early age of eighteen gave him the rank of sangiac and command of five thousand horsemen on the confines of Anatolia. His personal prowess and military skill in Asia Minor brought him into considerable notice, and he was given a command in the European provinces of the empire. This was a difficult position to be placed in ; for he had not forgotten that he was born a Christian and had been impressed into his present service. He felt a great dislike to turn his arms against co-religionists and countrymen. His brothers

* The good and brave beget the brave ;
. . . Fierce eagles breed not harmless doves.
The family standard of the Castriots, which Scanderbeg carried in his battles, was a black, double-headed eagle on a red field.

were dead, and now his father died in 1432. At this juncture the sultan very unjustly took possession of his hereditary dominion, and, sending his mother and sister Mamisa into exile, put a pasha over the country. Scanderbeg did not immediately pronounce himself against this act of treacherous spoliation, although several Albanian noblemen, proud of his renown and convinced that he was not at heart attached to his new creed, corresponded with him secretly, urging him to come and put himself at the head of the Christian population to free the country from the infidel. The Albanians have always been distinguished for their spirit of nationality, and, like the inhabitants of all mountainous regions, are remarkable for independence and love of home.

The favorable moment to declare himself had not arrived; but his plans were maturing. At last, after a great battle lost by the Turks at Morava on the 10th of November, 1443, he concerted with his nephew Hamza and a few trusty friends of Christian origin, forced, like himself, to serve the foreign tyrant, and by a skilful ruse and very sudden irruption at the head of six hundred Albanians, who hastened to join him as soon as his defection was known, he obtained possession of Croia, the capital of his paternal dominions. The Turkish garrison, not so much by his orders as from an uncontrollable impulse of outraged feelings in the populace, was put to the sword. Scanderbeg was just twenty-nine years old. He publicly renounced Mohammedanism and renewed his profession of the Catholic faith. The chiefs of Albania were then invited to meet him. When they came together at Croia they called him their deliverer, unanimously proclaimed him Prince of Epirus, and soon collected an army of about twelve thousand men. While the troops were being raised the civil ser-

vice and revenues of the state were reorganized. Besides a large immediate contribution from his own countrymen, he obtained two hundred thousand ducats from his neighbors, the Venetians, and had a great source of income in the salt-mines near Durazzo.

Petralba was next taken, and this success brought new accessions of men and means to prosecute the war. Within a month after the first blow had been struck every fortress except one was captured, and every Turk either killed, a prisoner, or in flight. Sfetigrad could not be surprised, and, leaving a force of three thousand men to watch it and cut off supplies, Scanderbeg retired with the rest of the army to Croia for the winter, and occupied himself in making an alliance with the republic of Venice, which held several towns along the coast of Dalmatia, and in preparing for the inevitable struggle the sultan would make to recover the country. Amurath did not dissemble his anger at the revolt of one whom he had treated, he said, with so much kindness and taught the use of the arms he was now turning against him. Being engaged at the time against the Hungarians, he put off revenge until the spring, thinking that he could at any moment easily subdue the undisciplined bands of Albania; but when a truce was concluded and spring opened with fair weather for an imposing campaign, he sent Ali Pasha in command of forty thousand men, his orders being to crush the insurrection at a single blow. Scanderbeg had by this time reduced Sfetigrad and strongly fortified and garrisoned the more important towns. He now took the field with only fifteen thousand troops, knowing that in such a country as the one he was to defend a very large force would be difficult to handle and impossible to feed. His tactics were gene-

rally those of partisan warfare. His little army was composed partly of cavalry from the northern, and partly of a hardy and active infantry from the southern, section of the country. His object was to wear out the enemy by a stout resistance at every point, and harass the retreats which the very vastness of the Turkish armies would necessitate by the impossibility, if for no other reason, of providing for so many mouths. Only occasional raids were made in force upon the fertile plains of Thessaly and Macedonia to capture horses, cattle, sheep, and to gather in grain to be stored in the fortified towns. During the war of Albanian independence, which lasted a quarter of a century, the Turks always, except towards the end, repeated the fatal blunder of sending immense armies, consisting in some cases of two hundred thousand men, into a country where they could be maintained only for a single and brief campaign, and to fight a general who was sure, from his bravery, skill, and thorough knowledge of every torrent, mountain pass, road, and valley, to turn defeat into overwhelming disaster. It was thus that the army of Ali Pasha was drawn by wily manœuvres into a narrow district only ninety miles from Croia and opening into the very heart of Albania. The upper end was very contracted, and here Scanderbeg drew up his main body of troops, to the number of ten thousand, which were posted in three divisions *en échelon*. As soon as the enemy was well engaged in the valley three thousand horsemen, who had been watching their slow advance, came down at its lower end, which had been left quite unguarded, while fifteen hundred irregular infantry lay in ambush on either side amidst the woody acclivities. As soon as the Turks came up to the Albanians they halted, tried to deploy but could not, repeatedly charged

and swept up in heavy columns against the small but solid masses, who evenly filled the gap and made it impossible to flank them. The Turks after a while began to waver and fall into still greater disorder. Ali Pasha had blundered.

The Albanians now took the offensive. The signal-clarions sounded, and, while the Turks were attacked in front, the cavalry from the lower end of the valley charged them in the rear, and the infantry that lay in ambush came rushing down on both sides with terrific cries and sword in hand to complete their discomfiture. It was now a slaughter ; and although the battle lasted only four hours altogether, over twenty thousand infidels were killed or wounded. Few prisoners—not more than two thousand—were taken. The rest of the enemy, under cover of darkness and from sheer exhaustion on the part of the victors, escaped through the now open passage at the lower end of the valley.

When Scanderbeg had entered Croia in triumph he announced the victory by letters to Pope Eugenius IV. and several Christian princes; and while some of the twenty-five captured battle-flags were distributed among the confederate chiefs, others were suspended in the principal church of the capital.

Amurath was so alarmed by this defeat—not, perhaps, so much from what he had to fear on the side of the immediate victors, but from the encouraging effects it might have in leaguing the Christian princes against him—that he wrote a letter from Adrianople, offering Scanderbeg peace on certain conditions. But when these were discussed in the council at Croia they were declared unjust and humiliating, and Scanderbeg was advised to reject every sort of condition and insist on the complete independence of Albania. The answer to

this letter announced his intention of holding out to the last extremity, and began with these valiant words: "From our camp near Croia, August 12, 1445. George Castriot, surnamed Scanderbeg, soldier of Jesus Christ and Prince of the Epirotes, to Othman, Prince of the Turks, greeting." A second army under Fizour, and a third and larger one under Mustapha, were successively defeated, but not without considerable loss in men and damage to the country. During the inroads of these fierce barbarians into Albania they perpetrated the most horrible massacres without regard to age or sex, and heaped the most brutal outrages upon the inhabitants. The handsomest girls were seized for the seraglios of the sultan and his wealthy minions, the prettiest boys were kept to minister to their unnatural lusts, while youths of a maturer age or less attractive appearance were circumcised, educated in the Mohammedan religion, and drafted into the Janizaries. Others who were not butchered on the smoking ruins of their homes were driven in chains to the slave markets, while many were made eunuchs and set to guard the harems of their masters in Asia Minor.

Mustapha Pasha, although he had been defeated, was entrusted with another army, but with a similar result, and even worse; for he himself was taken prisoner. Twenty-five thousand golden ducats were paid for his ransom. Scanderbeg now made a *razzia* on a large scale into Macedonia and returned laden with an immense booty of every description. His fame was so solidly established by these victories that the republic of Venice sent a magnificent embassy to compliment him and convey to him the news of his appointment as governor-general of all the Italian possessions along the Adriatic and in the interior, where the important cities

of Scutari and Alessio were situated. His name was enrolled in the Golden Book at the head of the list of Venetian nobles.

The revolt of the Janizaries having obliged Amurath to leave his luxurious retreat at Magnesia and once more resume the management of public affairs, he determined to conduct in person the war against Scanderbeg. He soon appeared at the head of a formidable army before Sfetigrad, which surrendered after a gallant resistance. During the siege the Turks lost in one of the assaults six thousand men. Satisfied, apparently, with this single victory, the slothful sultan retired into Macedonia, after leaving a strong garrison in the captured fortress. Scanderbeg hovered on his flanks and rear, making many prisoners and taking a large amount of stores and war material; then, after seeing him well out of the country, he turned towards Sfetigrad and sat down before it on September 20, 1445, with eighteen thousand men, among whom were adventurers from almost every country in Europe, Germans, French, and Italians being the most numerous. For want of artillery no regular siege could be conducted, and Scanderbeg was repulsed with heavy loss in his attacks on the place. Hearing that Amurath was preparing to return, he hastily concentrated his available troops around Croia, which was provisioned for a long resistance. Some large, unwieldy pieces of cannon, directed by Frenchmen, added to the strength of the capital. The sultan was slow in his movements, and did not appear as soon as expected. In the meanwhile Scanderbeg was encouraged by receiving congratulatory letters from Pope Nicholas V., which were brought to him by two Franciscans, one of whom was a bishop. The winter of 1449–50 had been passed by him in the saddle inspecting every

fortress, going into every part of his dominions to encourage the people and hasten the levy of troops. The coming tempest was naturally expected to assail the capital; and to make its neighborhood a howling wilderness, the whole country around Croia was ravaged by his order, for a distance of from fifteen to eighteen miles, so completely that not a house or a bridge was left standing, and not a road passable; every growing and living thing was either destroyed or removed. The enemy could find no shelter there.

On April 15, 1450, the sultan appeared before the city with an army of one hundred and sixty thousand fighting men and a host of camp-followers. Uranocontes commanded inside and repelled numerous assaults, while Scanderbeg, with a force of five thousand picked cavalry, hovered about the outskirts of the enemy, inflicting considerable loss in men and stores, but above all annoying the long line of communications by which the army drew its daily supplies. Amurath finally tired of the siege, and, being convinced that the mountains and valleys of Epirus were not worth his time, his trouble, or his money while richer conquests awaited him, charged a certain Yousouf to leave the camp and seek Scanderbeg, to try and induce him to accept the single condition of an annual tribute of only ten thousand ducats. After a two days' search he was found, but instantly rejected even this almost nominal condition attached to the independence of his country. Knowing that he could not take Croia by assault or maintain his army any longer in such a country, the sultan slowly retreated and died soon afterwards at Adrianople on February 5, 1451. He was succeeded by his son, Mohammed II., who renewed his father's offer, but with no better result.

The news of Amurath's ill-success before Croia made a great noise in Italy, and even beyond. The kings of Hungary and Aragon, and Philip, Duke of Burgundy, sent complimentary missions to the Albanian hero, and presents of money and provisions. King Alphonsus of Aragon, who was also King of Sicily and Naples, sent him four hundred thousand bushels of grain. Among other rich presents that he received from this magnificent monarch was a helmet or casque of the finest Spanish steel, lined on the inside with Cordovan leather and soft silk, and covered on the outside with the purest gold artistically chased and embossed by an Italian jeweller and studded with precious stones. Scanderbeg was very proud of this regal headgear, and ranked it along with his famous sword, a veritable *Excalibur*, the blade of which was of perfect Damascus workmanship, and the handle a blaze of Oriental gems set with exquisite skill by a Persian lapidary. This weapon was a present from Amurath on giving him his first command. With it he killed at least two thousand Turks in his war of independence, and it was looked upon by his enemies with a species of superstitious awe. During one of the informal truces between the Turks and Christians Sultan Mohammed begged to see the blade of which he had heard so much. It was sent to him and tried by the best swordsmen of his army, but not one of them could perform the feats that its owner had been seen to do with it; and when it was returned the sultan told him this and asked the reason. "I sent your Highness the sword," said Scanderbeg, "but not the limb that wields it!" When he went into battle it was always with his right arm bare and his shoulder perfectly free. He was so tall and strong that a few years later, when he went over to Italy to assist King Ferdinand, and had

occasion to meet the commander of the enemy's troops —the famous *condottiere* Count Piccinino, whose stature, it is true, was small, but still that of a grown person—he took him by the belt with one hand, and, slowly raising him up, impressed a courtly kiss upon the forehead and as gently set him down again. He looked so brave and handsome that even his foes applauded :

" His haughtie helmet, horrid all with gold,
Both glorious brightnesse and great terrour bredd :
For all the crest a dragon did enfold
With greedie pawes, and over all did spredd
His golden winges ; his dreadfull hideous hedd,
Close couchèd on the bever, seemed to throw
From flaming mouth bright sparcles fiery redd,
That suddeine horrour to faint hartes did show ;
And scaly tayle was stretcht adowne his back full low."

—*Spenser.*

In May, 1451, Scanderbeg married the Princess Donica, daughter of Arrianites Thopia, one of the most influential lords of Albania, and connected on his mother's side with the imperial family of the Comneni. He received at this time from King Alphonsus five hundred arquebusiers, the same number of expert crossbow-men, and a few pieces of artillery with their cannoneers. We have only space to mention, without detail, the events of the next few years : how successive armies of Turks were defeated ; how Scanderbeg himself was repulsed with a loss of five thousand men in an attack on Belgrade ; and how, during a lull in the war, he was invited over to Italy by Pope Pius II. to the assistance of King Ferdinand, son of his old friend Alphonsus, who was hard pressed by his rival, John of Anjou (*Raynald. Annales Eccl. ad an.* 1460, num. lx) He contributed greatly to the victory won at Troja on Aug. 18, 1462, and for his services was created Duke of San Pietro, in the kingdom of Naples. He remained in

Italy a little over a year. Recalled to Albania by the appearance of the Turks, he repulsed Sultan Mohammed from Croia; but his own losses and the new plans of the enemy, which consisted in sending small armies under experienced generals—one of whom, Balaban Badera, was an Albanian renegade—with orders to avoid battle if possible, but to remain in the country at all hazards, made him feel that his cause was failing, and that, unless relieved from the West, he must sooner or later succumb. In this emergency he went to Rome and appealed to the pope and cardinals to preach a new crusade. The example of the broken-hearted Pius II. showed how fruitless it would have been for them to do so. Paul, indeed, wrote to all the Christian princes, but he got nothing but fair words in return. The Great Schism had lamentably diminished the prestige of the Papacy, and a multitude of heretics more or less openly preluded that Reformation which would soon divide Christendom itself into hostile camps. The pope gave him three thousand golden florins and conferred upon him the insignia of the cap and sword which is annually blessed by the pontiff on the vigil of Christmas for presentation to the prince who has deserved best of the church. Scanderbeg lodged while in Rome in a house which, although rebuilt in 1843, still retains over the door his portrait in fresco and the laudatory inscription set up soon after his death. The street and an adjoining little *piazza* under the Quirinal gardens have long perpetuated his name as the *Via di Scanderbeg*. He left Rome in disappointment and sorrow:

> " Ah! what though no succor advances,
> Nor Christendom's chivalrous lances
> Are stretched in our aid? Be the combat our own!
> And we'll perish or conquer more proudly alone;

For we've sworn by our country's assaulters,
By the virgins they've dragged from our altars,
By our massacred patriots, our children in chains,
By our heroes of old, and their blood in our veins,
That, living, we shall be victorious,
Or that, dying, our deaths shall be glorious."

—*Campbell.*

On his way back to Albania he was allowed to recruit in the Venetian territories a force of thirteen thousand men, which he commanded in person. His former little army in the field was captained by his faithful friend Tanusios, and after planning together the two generals attacked the Turks around Croia on two different points, while a vigorous sortie was made by the besieged, during which Balaban, the Turkish commander, was killed. His death and the suddenness and vigor of the triple attack threw the enemy into confusion, and they were completely routed. We pass over other battles and victories, by which Scanderbeg's resources were finally exhausted. The end had come. During the winter of 1466–67 he was making a tour of inspection, and while in the city of Alessio, or Lissa, as it is sometimes called, where the ambassador of Venice and the confederate chiefs of Albania had convened to meet him and combine for one last and desperate effort, he was seized by a fever which proved fatal. After addressing a solemn and pathetic discourse to his principal officers, he embraced them one by one, and gave orders to his only son, John, to cross over to his Neapolitan fiefs with his mother, and there wait until some favorable occasion might appear to return and put himself at the head of his countrymen as his father had done. He died during the night of January 17, 1467, after having received the Viaticum and Extreme Unction, and was buried in the ca-

thedral church of Alessio. His death caused a profound sensation throughout Europe. Mohammed exulted over the loss of one whom he called the sword and buckler of the Christians, and immediately poured his troops into Albania; but it was not until the year 1478, when Croia surrendered on conditions which were afterwards basely violated, that the war ended. Since that time the infamous Turks have lorded it over a land made glorious in legendary lore by the son of Achilles, in history by King Pyrrhus, and in modern times by Scanderbeg. The presence of those barbarous Asiatics in any part of Europe is one of the foulest stains upon the moral sense and politics of Christian governments. However, as Milton, who lived to mourn a lost cause, makes the chorus sing in *Samson Agonistes*:

> " All is best, though we oft doubt
> What th' unsearchable dispose
> Of highest Wisdom brings about,
> And ever best found in the close.
> Oft he seems to hide his face,
> But unexpectedly returns,
> And to his faithful champion hath in place
> Bore witness gloriously."

When Alessio was captured the infidels dug up the remains of the great warrior and divided his bones among the soldiers, to be worn in rich reliquaries as amulets of courage. His countrymen still sing of him as their national hero, and the Turks frighten naughty children with his terrible name.

After Scanderbeg's death many Albanians emigrated to Italy, either in the suite of his son or independently. The most remarkable colony was in Calabria, where as late as 1780 their descendants, numbering about one hundred thousand, retained the dress, manners, and lan-

guage of their ancestors. Another colony, not so numerous, is scattered about the Abruzzi. The last lineal descendant of the hero was the Marquis of Sant' Angelo, who was killed at the battle of Pavia by the hand (as Paulus Jovius says) of Francis I.

Most of the Albanians remained Christians until the middle of the seventeenth century, when the majority conformed, outwardly at least, to the Mohammedan religion. The popes have tried hard to keep alive the Catholic faith among the population, and, under the circumstances, with considerable success. Pope Clement XI., of the (now) princely family of Albani which emigrated from Albania in the sixteenth century, and settled at Urbino, established a purse of four thousand scudi in 1708 for the support of three students from that country in the Propaganda College. The Catholics there do not now number more than ninety thousand. There are two archbishoprics, Antivari united with Scutari, and Durazzo, and three bishoprics, Alessio, Pulati, and Sappa. These sees are usually filled by Franciscans, who, with a few Propagandists (with one of whom, now bishop of Alessio, we have the honor of being acquainted), are the only missionaries in the country. We conclude our essay with a bibliographical notice of the subject, because, as Dr. Johnson used to say, a great part of know ledge consists in knowing *where* knowledge is to be found.

The original source of information upon which all subsequent writers, whether with or without acknowledgment, have drawn is a work by Marino Barlezio, a priest of Scutari, who, besides being a native of the country about which he wrote, was an almost constant companion of Scanderbeg and an eye-witness of most of the events which he relates. He was a scholar and

penned very excellent Latin, which greatly adds to the charm of his narrative. We give the full title : *De Vita et Moribus ac Rebus præcipuè adversus Turcas gestis Georgii Castrioti clarissimi Epirotarum Principis, qui propter celeberrima facinora Scanderbegus, hoc est Alexander Magnus, cognominatus fuit. Libri xiii.* It is not certain where this curious book was first published. Some say at Rome as early as 1506, but this is extremely doubtful ; others at Frankfort in 1537 (in folio). A German translation by Pinicianus was published in 1561 in 4to, with woodcuts ; and a French one, the language of which is quaint and racy, by Jacques de Lavardin in 1597. Independent biographies have been written in Latin by an anonymous author at Rome in 1537 or earlier, in folio ; in Italian by T. M. Monardo, Venice, 1591, and almost immediately translated into Spanish and Portuguese; in French by Du Poncet (Paris, 1709, in 12mo), a Jesuit, who took upon himself to refute the calumny of Macchiavelli and Helvetius, that Christian principles and practices can never develop the qualities of a perfect soldier and a hero. Other French biographies are those of Chevilly (Paris, 1732, 2 vols. 12mo), and Camille Paganel (*ibid.* 1855, 1 vol. 8vo), which is the best we have read. In English there is one by Clement C. Moore, an American (New York, 1850), and another by Robert Bigsby, an Englishman (London, 1866) ; while we have also, from the graceful pen of Benjamin Disraeli, *The Rise of Iskander*, a tale founded on Scanderbeg's revolt against the Turks (London, 1833).* A *Summarium* or epitome of his life is preserved among the MSS. of the Royal Library at Turin ; and the

* Longfellow, in his *Tales of a Wayside Inn*, has made a Spanish Jew tell a tale of Scanderbeg—pretty but false, just such as a Jew would be likely to make up on a Christian.

Grand Ducal one at Weimar treasures among its rarities a MS. parchment called *The Book of Scanderbeg*, composed of three hundred and twenty-five leaves, each of which is beautifully illustrated with figures in india-ink representing scenes from civil and military life in the fifteenth century. It was a present to the Albanian hero from Ferdinand of Aragon. Two Latin poems have been published about him, one by a German named Kökert at Lubec, 1643, and the other by a French Jesuit, Jean de Bussières, at Lyons, 1662, in eight books; finally, one in Italian, called *La Scanderbeide*, by a lady named Margherita Sarrocchi, without date or place of publication ; but it sometimes turns up in book-sales at Rome. And now, since writing the above, our attention is called to the very latest addition to the Scanderbegiana, which is by George T. Pétrovitch : *Scanderbeg* (*Georges Castriota*). *Essai de bibliographie raisonnée. Ouvrages sur Scanderbeg, écrits en langues française, anglaise, allemande, latine, italienne, espagnole, portugaise, suédoise, et grecque, et publiés depuis l'invention de l'imprimerie jusqu'a nos jours.* Paris, 1881.

Scanderbeg's large gilt cuirass, damaskeened with designs of Eastern pattern, is found in the Belvedere collection at Vienna. It is supposed to have been one of his trophies captured in Anatolia.

# VITTORIA COLONNA.

> Lived in court—
> Which rare it is to do—most praised, most loved,
> A sample to the youngest, to the more mature
> A glass that feated them, and to the graver
> A child that guided dotards.
>
> —*Cymbeline.*

TWELVE miles from Rome, on an almost isolated knoll of the Alban range of hills, more than thirteen hundred feet above the sea, which glimmers in the distance beyond the Campagna, rises the picturesque, mediæval town of Marino. Many quiet Romans spend the *villeggiatura* there, to enjoy its pure air and the shady promenades and beautiful views around it; but few foreigners do more than visit, on the way, a classical spot, a deep and wooded glen at the foot of the hill, where the representatives of the Latin tribes used to meet for deliberation on public matters down to the year 340 B.C., and which is noted for the tragic end of Turnus Herdonius, an influential chief of the league, who was treacherously accused, condemned, and drowned, at the request of Tarquin the Proud, in the clear pool of water—called by Livy *caput aquæ Ferentinæ*—which wells up so innocently from under a moss-covered rock overspread by an ancient, crooked beech-tree at the head of the little valley.

We do not intend to sketch the history of Marino or describe its local monuments, however interesting, but will simply remark that during the middle ages it passed

successively from the Counts of Tusculum to the Frangipanis, the Orsinis, and, under Pope Martin V., to the Colonnas, in whose favor it was erected into a dukedom in 1424. The large baronial palace of the sixteenth century which stands in the middle of the town is full of curiosities and ancestral portraits of this powerful family, although the rarer and more interesting ones have long since been removed to its princely headquarters near the *Santi Apostoli*, in Rome. The stone-work and towers which still surround Marino and add so much to its feudal aspect were raised in the year 1480, and the ruins of the castle, with its battlements and proud armorial signs upon the walls, are on the most precipitous side of the town, overlooking the noisy little stream of Aqua Ferentina. It was in this castle—which, having been made by the Colonnas their principal stronghold in that part of the Roman States, was then in the pride of all its freshness and strength of portals, merlons, and machicolations—that a daughter was born in the year 1490 to Don Fabrizio Colonna and his wife, the Lady Agnes of Montefeltro. As soon as possible she was held up at a window to be seen by her father's retainers and saluted with the discharge of rude artillery, peal of trumpets, and shouts of men-at-arms.

This infant was Vittoria Colonna, who became one of the most celebrated women of the sixteenth century, and who is remembered in Italy to this day for her learning, her poetry, beauty, conjugal affection, piety, and sorrows; and yet, strange as it may seem, although hardly singular—for illustrious names of the same period have fallen into a like obscurity—no date more precise than that of the year can be assigned to her birth; and certainly one of the benefits derived by biographers from the reforms which followed the Council of Trent

is the better keeping of baptismal registers, by means of which—in countries, at least, where the church was not persecuted nor war made on parochial books—sometimes the very hour, often the day of the week, always that of the month, of an individual's birth may be found.

Vittoria was the eldest, and only female, of six children. Her father was not only a great nobleman of the States of the Church, but the possessor of many Neapolitan fiefs; and soon after Charles VIII. of France, who had attempted the conquest of the kingdom of Naples, began to experience an evil turn of fortune, Don Fabrizio was detached from his service by Ferdinand of Spain, who succeeded in driving the French out of the southern part of Italy. Most of his life was spent in courts and camps, and but little time was passed in his castles, whither he went either to enjoy the chase or when called by domestic concerns, such as this one that gave a daughter to his house. Her mother was a child of Frederic, Duke of Urbino, head of an illustrious family which for three centuries had ranked among the lesser independent princes of Italy. Some of Vittoria's ancestors of this line had figured in a conspicuous manner in history, especially as patrons of letters, and during a certain period the court of Urbino was the most refined and intellectual of the Italian peninsula. She felt its influence through her accomplished mother; but her father's family was also remarkable for an hereditary genius and aptitude in every branch of learning; and a long list could be made of men of erudition, and of writers more or less distinguished, belonging to the Colonna lineage, at the head of which would stand Ægidius Romanus, or Giles of Rome, General of the Augustinians in 1292, and for his profound knowl-

edge surnamed *Doctor fundatissimus*, whose work, *De Regimine Principum*, composed for his pupil, Philip the Fair of France, was the model in its general subject and didactic form, but without the immoral maxims, of Machiavelli's treatise, *Del Principe*.

According to the custom among the great in that age, Vittoria, while a mere child, being only four years of age, was affianced to one not much older than herself. This was Ferdinand Francesco d'Avalos. His noble family, of Catalan origin, had come over to Italy with the Spanish invaders in 1442, and risen to considerable importance ; Don Alonzo, son of Inigo, who accompanied Alphonsus I. in his expedition and died at Naples, having been created Marquis of Pescara, a fortified town of the Abruzzi at the mouth of a river that empties itself into the Adriatic. This very honorable betrothal was made at the suggestion of King Ferdinand, who hoped in this way to attach Fabrizio more strongly to himself. Except this affair, hardly anything is known of Vittoria's early years, nor who were her instructors ; but, judging from subsequent events, she must have been surrounded by whatever advantages wealth, social influence, and political position could procure ; and the literary ardor which marked the fifteenth century having passed from colleges and universities into the ranks of private life, her education was such as to ensure her the highest mental culture, united with every accomplishment befitting her station. At the age of five she was transferred to the tutelage of her future husband's family and placed in care of her sister-in-law, the Duchess of Francavila, who was castellan for the king of the fortress and island of Ischia, at the entrance to the Bay of Naples. This important charge could only have been entrusted to a woman of superior talents, and justifies the praises which

Vittoria has given in several sonnets to the "magnanimous Costanza," as she delights to call her. The duchess loved study, and cultivated the society of the learned, being herself well acquainted with Latin, Spanish, and Italian, in which last language she wrote a work on the misfortunes and trials of the world—*Degli Infortuni e Travagli del Mondo.* It was in the midst of enchanting scenery, of the fame of martial deeds, and of an elegant conversation that Vittoria's youthful happiness was passed. She grew up beautiful in person, lovely in mind, and adorned with every grace of manners. She was tall and of an easy carriage, the blood in her veins forming over her white skin a delicate cerulean tracery, while her face was set in a mass of auburn hair which has been sung—such a color being rare in Italy—by some of the best writers of her day. Of her personal appearance those who have mentioned it can never say enough. That her charms were not the poetical exaggerations of devoted admirers we know from several sources, and particularly from the very sober prose of a curious diary * kept by a certain Giuliano Casseri, who had occasion to see Vittoria at Naples. She was considered by all—except, of course, by her own sex—the handsomest woman of the age :

> Her ivory forehead, full of bounty brave,
> Like a broad table did itself dispread,
> For Love his lofty triumphs to engrave,
> And write the battles of his great godhead :
> All good and honor might therein be read ;
> For there their dwelling was. And, when she spake,
> Sweet words, like dropping honey, she did shed ;
> And 'twixt the pearls and rubies softly brake
> A silver sound that heavenly music seemed to make.
>
> —*Spenser.*

* Published only in 1785.

After a few years passed in this family, Vittoria returned to Marino to prepare for her marriage, which took place at Ischia in 1507, with all the pomp and splendor that the two great families and their numerous friends could command. The list of marriage gifts and the names of the personages who witnessed the matrimonial contract are interesting—apart from the subjects themselves—for the light they throw upon high society in Italy at a period when it easily surpassed, in the means of luxurious living and all the amenities of social intercourse, that of any other country in Europe.

The Avalos family, like that of Colonna and Montefeltro, was famous for its attention to classical literature and its patronage of learned men. Tiraboschi, in his *History of Italian Literature*,* says of this young Marquis of Pescara that he was no less a diligent student himself than a munificent patron of learning in others.† Tall, naturally of romantic ardor, he had moved among men who continually inspired him with a taste for the profession of arms, and he rose to be one of the great captains of his age.

The first three years of their married life were spent very happily either at Ischia or at Naples. Their affection was mutual and tender. They had ratified the choice of their parents, and their marriage was one of those which are said to be made in heaven. In fact, between her betrothal and final engagement, when the brilliant qualities of her mind and the exquisite beauty of her features began to be the talk and admiration of every one, several great offers had been made to her father in hopes of detaching his daughter from Avalos, and among

* Vol. vii. p. 78.

† His cousin, Alfonso d'Avalos, Marchese del Vasto, whom he made his heir, became in his turn not only a successful soldier but a very Mæcenas of literature. He died in the year 1546.

these suitors were the Dukes of Savoy and Braganza. But while a malicious pen has told us that the reason they were not accepted is that one was too old and the other too far away, the gentle maiden herself assures us that she remained firm to her first love from the purest sentiment of devotion :

*A pena avean gli spiriti intiera vita,*
*Quando il mio cor proscrisse agni altro oggetto.*

In 1512, when war broke out with France, the young Marquis of Pescara was summoned to serve his king, and accompanied his wife's father, who was Grand Constable of Naples, her uncle, the renowned Prospero Colonna, and her five gallant brothers to the scene of action. Vittoria, meanwhile, remained at Ischia; but before many months had passed she had cause of grief far heavier than that of separation—her husband was wounded and a prisoner. It was at the battle of Ravenna (11th of April, 1512), which has been so tersely described by Macaulay as one of those tremendous days in which human folly and wickedness compress the whole devastation of a famine or a plague, that Fabrizio, who commanded the Spanish vanguard, and Pescara, who was master of the horse, surrendered their swords. The latter was carried to Milan and placed in the fortress of Porta Gobbia. When the news was brought to Ischia, Vittoria and Costanza gave way to their grief, but with a dignified moderation becoming their lofty ideals of sacrifice and duty, and without any of that wild emotion so common to the tender sentiment in the sex.

The illustrious prisoner consoled himself during confinement by composing for his wife a *Dialogue on Love*. His captivity did not last long, and he was liberated after paying a heavy ransom. He then returned to his be-

loved home, where he was welcomed by all classes as a veritable hero, and a little of the fast-fading glamour of chivalry showed itself among the Italians in the attention which was directed to his scarred—and as we would think disfigured—face, so much so that one of his fair admirers, the Duchess of Milan, exclaimed that she too would like to be a man, if only to receive a wound across the cheek and see how it would add to a fine appearance. All this is very ridiculous, but that it had a hold upon certain minds at this age, and may therefore be noted, is shown from many other circumstances of the same kind; for instance, the delight of Francis of Guise in being surnamed *Le Balafré*, from a severe cut received at the siege of Boulogne, in 1545.

When Pescara was again called (in 1513) to join the forces collected in Lombardy against the French, his wife returned to Ischia, where she continued a diligent course of reading. Besides studying the classics, she cultivated Italian poetry, from which her fame, in our day at least, has chiefly arisen, and in her graceful verses displayed a charm and musical rhythm not equalled since the strains of Petrarch's muse were heard.

Her husband sometimes came to see her, but his visits from the camp could not be frequent, and most of the time she was left alone in the midst of the little court at Ischia, consumed by that species of domestic grief so poignant to a loving heart when the marital union has not been blessed by issue. Vittoria mentions this particular sorrow, this absence of maternal joy, in a very touching sonnet (No. 22). Finally, despairing of children of her own, she prevailed upon her husband in 1515 to adopt as his son and heir his young cousin, the Marquis del Vasto.

In 1521 we find Vittoria at home. The year before

this she lost her father, whom Italians delight to mention as having lived a life full of grandeur and glory; but more impartial writers dispute the *intaminatis fulget honoribus*, and assert that his desertion of the losing for the winning party, when he passed over from Charles to Ferdinand, was done without principle and merely to save his Neapolitan fiefs. He was a great friend of Macchiavelli, and the well-known contempt and hatred of this political fiend for what he was pleased to call the barbarous domination of the foreigner probably influenced him to think that it mattered little whether he served Frenchman or Spaniard, since neither had a right to or deserved his services. It was to him that the subtle Florentine addressed his seven books on the *Art of War*. His wife, the lovely and pious Agnes, survived him only two years, dying after a pilgrimage to Our Lady of Loretto. One of Vittoria's most beautiful sonnets is on her mother. We can have but little respect, although much admiration, for Colonna. He was a type of those statesmen-warriors, "remarkable Italians," of the period of the Renaissance, of whom Macaulay (*Essay on Machiavelli*) has given such an excellent description: "Ample and majestic foreheads; brows strong and dark, but not frowning; eyes of which the calm, full gaze, while it expresses nothing, seems to discern everything; cheeks pale with thought and sedentary habits; lips formed with feminine delicacy, but compressed with more than masculine decision, mark out men at once enterprising and apprehensive—men equally skilled in detecting the purposes of others and in concealing their own; men who must have been formidable enemies and unsafe allies; but men, at the same time, whose tempers were mild and equable, and who possessed an amplitude and subtlety of mind which would

have rendered them eminent either in active or in contemplative life, and fitted them either to govern or to instruct mankind." Who has not seen in the galleries of Roman palaces the almost animated portraits of just such men?

Pescara, being again called to arms, hurried to the north of Italy, and after the battle of Sessia behaved with exquisite courtesy towards the wounded and expiring Bayard. At the battle of Pavia, on Feb. 24, 1525, Pescara was grievously wounded. Although he greatly contributed by his skill and valor to the fortunes of that day, he could not conceal his disappointment at not being more generously rewarded by the emperor, and was soon afterwards approached by Morone, the experienced minister of the Duke of Milan, with an offer of the kingdom of Naples for himself if he would join a league which was being formed among the Italian princes to free Italy of foreign rulers, whether French, Spanish, or German. Historians differ in their accounts of his conduct in this delicate affair. Writers in the imperial interest from that time to this assert that he indignantly rejected the proposal, which involved both treachery and ingratitude—even although he had not received the full measure of his merits—and Sandoval says that he showed himself among those double-dealing Italians "*verdadero Español, Castellano viejo.*" Certain it is that Pescara used to consider himself more a Spaniard than an Italian, was prouder of his Spanish blood than of his Neapolitan title, and often regretted that he was not born in the land of his ancestors. On the other hand, Italian writers say that he fully committed himself, and was perfectly willing to abandon and turn against his sovereign, but that at the last moment he quailed, and basely betrayed his companions to the vengeance of the

emperor, for which reason the rancorous Guicciardini (xvi. 189) calls him, with almost incredible insolence, "*Capitano altiero, insidioso, maligno, senz' alcuna sincerità.*" More moderate historians say that he was merely dazzled by the prospect of a crown, perhaps even entertained the proposition, and would probably have thrown himself into the movement but for the protest and heroic abnegation of his wife. The truth seems to be, as Gregorovius remarks, that national antipathy has biassed the judgment of Italian writers. Immediately after the battle of Pavia, Charles V. wrote a most flattering autograph letter to Vittoria. Her answer from Ischia, May 1, 1525, is written in a fair hand, and preserved among the papers of the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua.

Pescara received three wounds, and lay for some months suffering from their effects, which he imprudently aggravated by copious draughts of ice-water. He was too weak to travel, and, growing worse, sent a hasty messenger to his wife to come to Milan and receive his last breath. She started immediately, but was met at Viterbo by the fatal intelligence that he had died on Nov. 25.* His funeral took place on the 30th, and the body was afterwards transported to Naples and buried in the church of St. Dominic. Paulus Jovius, a contemporary, wrote his life—*Vita Ferdinandi Davali Pescarii*—in elegant Latin. A literary memorial of Spanish domination in another extremity of Europe, and of the days when, the great school of war being transferred from classical Italy to the Netherlands, the gests of illus-

* Philippe Macquer, in his esteemed work, *Abrégé Chronologique de l'Histoire d'Espagne et de Portugal* (1759-65), 2 vols. 8vo, says that there is ground for believing that he was poisoned by his enemies, which we think is very likely to have been the case, considering the morals of the age.

trious soldiers were eagerly studied by military men—although, as a rule, no longer in the original language of Cæsar's *Commentaries*—is preserved to us in the *Historia del fortissimo y prudentissimo Capitan Don Hernando de Avalos, Marques de Pescara*, published at Antwerp in 1570.

Vittoria's first impulse, following this shock, was to take the religious habit, but she was prudently dissuaded by the learned Sadolet, Bishop of Carpentras, who was then in Rome, from a measure which would seem to proceed rather from overwhelming grief than mature deliberation. She did, however, retire for a time to the convent of San Silvestro *in Capite*, which was closely connected with the fortunes of the Colonna family. It was during this pious retreat that she began that *In Memoriam* to her dead husband which we will mention a little further on.

The first seven years of her widowhood were passed in inconsolable grief. She resided at different periods either with her father's family at Rome, Marino, or in some other of their castles, or at Naples and Ischia with the relatives of her late husband. Being still in the prime of life, in the bloom of beauty, and well provided for by Pescara's will, her hand was sought in marriage by several distinguished suitors; but she turned a deaf ear to all proposals of this kind, vowing that her first love still reigned supreme:

*Amor le faci spense ove l'accese.**

(Love lit his torch, and quenched it in the flame.)

When the Emperor Charles V. was in Rome in 1536 he made a ceremonious visit, the more honorable as his stay was so short in the Eternal City, to the widow of his

* 18th Sonnet.

faithful general. In 1537 she made a tour among several cities in northern Italy, and was everywhere received with the greatest distinction. We find her with the Ducal Estes at Ferrara, with the celebrated Veronica Gambara * at Bologna, and with the erudite Ghiberto, Bishop of Verona. From a letter of Pietro Aretino it appears that she was bent about this period on making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but was dissuaded by her adopted son and husband's heir, Del Vasto, who feared that her health would very seriously suffer. During this time, also, she assisted Bernardo Tasso (father of the poet), who acknowledges the benefit he received from her religious sentiments.

In 1538 she was back again in Rome, and one of the most interesting episodes of her life—her friendship with Michael Angelo—was then begun. The austere artist, who was sixty-four years old, felt animated by a fervent but chaste affection such as he had never before experienced. It brought him the poet's wreath to add to his other crowns of painter, architect, and sculptor; for it is chiefly upon his sonnets to Vittoria that his literary reputation rests. The few years of this sacred friendship were the happiest in his life; and it is no small part of our heroine's reputation to have inspired in this wonderful man a muse so pure and powerful. His poetic addresses to her, though marked, says Harford, by the highest admiration of her mind and heart, are throughout expressive of the most reverential respect. They gratefully acknowledge her condescending courtesy, and the beneficial influence of her piety and wisdom upon his own opinions, fluctuating between vice and

* One of the most distinguished females of the age, and for love of letters and literary success ranking next to Vittoria. She was born in 1485; her father, the Count Gianfrancesco Gambara of Brescia; her mother, Alda Pia of Carpi; her husband Ghiberto, Lord of Correggio. She died in 1550.

virtue, but he never presumes even to refer to her personal attractions. It was only after her death, and then but in a single sonnet, that he relaxed in a slight degree his habitual reserve and sang of her earthly beauty. But the strain is still elevated far above the expressions of carnal love, and describes a celestial countenance not unworthy of the Beatrice of Dante.

How highly she was esteemed by all classes is shown, among many other sources, from the words of an unprejudiced foreigner then in Rome, the Spanish artist d'Olanda, who says in his journal that she is one of the noblest and most famous women in Italy and in the whole world; beautiful, chaste, a Latin scholar; adorned with every grace that can redound to a woman's praise; devoting herself since her husband's death to thoughts of Christ and to study; supporting the needy; a model of genuine piety. From a letter of Cardinal Pole, dated April 2, 1541, we learn that she visited Ratisbon, but neither the motives nor any details of this long journey have been discovered; only it is known that she was received with honor by the emperor *and by the citizens.* Her fame, then, had already passed the Alps. On her return from Germany she rested for a while in the convent of San Paolo at Orvieto, whence she wrote to Cardinal Pole, expressing how much delight she found in the rules and society of the sisters, whom she calls "a company of angels." It was while in this holy place that the apostate Ochino sent her a letter, in which he tried to explain and apologize for his conduct; but she indignantly forwarded it to Cervini at Rome, to be lodged with the ecclesiastical authorities, as it was unbecoming in her to receive any communication from such a reprobate. With fine womanly tact she had long before discovered the weak points in the cha-

racter of this gifted but miserable man, consumed by pride and lust, and, after hearing him preach, she used often, as though struck by some vague apprehension of a hidden conflict in that eloquent soul, to pray for his final perseverance.

And yet it is from her intercourse with several persons —Valdez, Ochino, Vermigli (Peter Martyr), and some others—who *afterwards* became heretics that her English biographers especially have striven to make her out a Protestant! There is not one sentence in her voluminous writings which can be honestly made to bear an uncatholic sense. But we perceive everywhere a love of the church, a respect for the pope—whom she styles, in the most orthodox language, "the Vicar of Christ"—an admiration for celibacy and the religious life,* and, finally, a tender devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary. If this be Protestantism, Protestants are welcome to it; and God grant they may make the most of it! Cardinal Pole, who was many years her junior, used to honor her as his mother, and assiduously cultivated her friendship. She left him a legacy of 10,000 scudi in her will, but he made it over to her niece. At Viterbo she displayed a lively interest in all matters of education, and took the greatest pleasure in teaching the pupils entrusted to the religious community of St. Catherine.

Vittoria returned to Rome at the beginning of the year 1547, and retired to the palace of Julian Cesarini, who was married to Julia Colonna. While here she fell very ill, and, feeling her end approach, she was filled with the pious sentiments of one of her own sonnets, composed but a short time before, and which will show

* Writing to Michael Angelo from the convent of St. Catherine at Viterbo, as late as 1543, she calls the nuns, her companions, "the spouses of Christ."

her constant preparation for death and serve as a specimen of her style. The translation is by Harford :

> Would that a voice impressive might repeat,
> In holiest accents to my inmost soul,
> The name of Jesus ; and my words and works
> Attest true faith in him, and ardent hope ;
> The soul elect, which feels within itself
> The seeds divine of this celestial love,
> Hears, sees, attends on Jesus ; grace from him
> Illumes, expands, fires, purifies the mind ;
> The habit bright of thus invoking him
> Exalts our nature so that it appeals
> Daily to him for its immortal food.
> In the last conflict with our ancient foe,
> So dire to nature, armed with Faith alone,
> The heart, from usage long, on him will call.
>
> —Sonnet 29.

She died towards the end of February, 1547—the exact date is not known—in the odor of sanctity, as one of her Italian biographers says. By her will she made Ascanio Colonna her heir, left one thousand scudi to each of the four convents in which she had so often lived, provided for all her servants, and disposed of a large sum in charity, besides making other pious bequests. Her signature to this instrument is in Latin, in these words : *Ita testavi ego Vitoria Columna.*

Strange it is, perhaps, but yet a worthy ending of a life of humility and mortification, even in the midst of the glories of the world, that no monument is raised over her remains. In fact, her body cannot be identified ; for having requested to be buried in the religious habit of the nuns of *Sant' Anna de' Funari*, and in their midst, it was committed to the common vault of the community, where it lies undistinguished from the others that repose there.

Her poetry may be classified into a series composed during her husband's life and the first years of her widowhood, and another written when she had given herself to a stricter manner of living. The former is taken up with conjugal love, descriptions of nature, and miscellaneous subjects; the latter is exclusively devoted to religious ideas: one is the profane, the other the sacred series. As an example of the lofty energy with which her mind poured its whole current of feeling into the channel of Christian devotion, we present her 28th sonnet in Harford's translation:

Deaf would I be to earthly sounds, to greet,
With thoughts intent and fixed on things above,
The high, angelic strains, the accents sweet,
In which true peace accords with perfect love;
Each living instrument the breath that plays
Upon its strings from chord to chord conveys,
And to one end so perfectly they move
That nothing jars the eternal harmony.
Love melts each voice, Love lifts its accents high,
Love beats the time, presides o'er ev'ry string;
Th' angelic orchestra one signal sways.
The sound becomes more sweet the more it strays
Through varying changes, in harmonious maze;
He who the song inspired prompts all who sing.

As an impartial critic we must confess that, however refined the language, beautiful the sentiments, and learned the imagery, there is too much classical grandiloquence in her love-songs to permit us to forget the head that composed, and allow us to think only of the heart that inspired, them. When Pescara went forth on his first military expedition she described her grief in a long rhymed letter of thirty-seven stanzas, in which all that is heroic in ancient Greece and Rome is summoned

to witness her disconsolate state. The opening address —*Eccelso Mio Signore!* (My high-engendered Lord!)— while it shows the reverential homage which the wife in those days was expected to offer to her husband, and which, with all its formalism, was better than the disrespectful familiarity of a later age, is the prelude to a style altogether too much like that of the eccentric Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, whose biography of her husband—her Julius Cæsar, her thrice noble, high, and puissant Prince, as she used to call him—is the acme of connubial admiration. After the death of Pescara, Vittoria depicted her own grief and his great, good qualities in a flow of verses full of beauty, dignity, and pathos. Upwards of one hundred sonnets are devoted to his memory. Trollope, with the conceit of his class, calls these touching expressions of sorrow "the tuneful wailings of a young widow as lovely as inconsolable, as irreproachable as noble"; but the more generous feelings and, doubtless, the Catholic instincts of her French biographer discover in this exquisite threnody a form of prayer to God for peace to the living and eternal rest to the dead. After seven years of widowhood a great change took place in her nature. She gave herself up entirely to higher influences; and the difference of style is remarkable between her worldly and her religious poems. The first are, as we have said, devoted to the love of a mortal object; the second to a divine dilection. This series is entitled *Rime Spirituali.* She begins it:

> Since a chaste love my soul has long detained
> In fond idolatry of earthly fame,
> Now to the Lord, who only can supply
> The remedy, I turn . . .
>
> —Sonnet 1.

And again we observe in the following production her

resolve to abandon pagan allusions and confine her poetry to sublimer subjects :

> Me it becomes not henceforth to invoke
> Or Delos or Parnassus ; other springs,
> Far other mountain-tops, I now frequent,
> Where human steps, unaided, cannot mount.

All writers on Italian poetry are agreed that for delicacy and grace of style Vittoria ranks next to Petrarch.

Several medals and portraits have perpetuated her features at different periods of life. Of the former, two were made while her husband was living—both heads being represented—and two during her widowhood. A most beautiful medal was struck at Rome in 1840 on occasion of the marriage of Prince Torlonia to Donna Teresa Colonna, but the face is more or less ideal. Several portraits were painted during her lifetime, but it is difficult to trace them all. Some are lost, and others are doubtful originals. The thoroughly genuine one (say the Romans) is that in the Colonna Gallery. It is a fine type of chaste and patrician beauty. It was taken when she was about eighteen ; although how it can in this case (and it certainly represents her still in her teens) be ascribed to Muziano, as it is by Mrs. Roscoe, we cannot understand, because this artist was born only in 1528, when Vittoria was already thirty-eight years old. The fact is that the artist is unknown. Although it would be highly flattering to the vanity of her race, and of the Romans in general, to believe that her portrait was sketched by Michael Angelo and painted by Sebastiano del Piombo, they reject with horror the celebrated picture by their hands in the Tribune at Florence in which others see her face and figure. The best judges, however, call it simply "A Lady, 1512"; and

our ideal of Vittoria revolts from the voluptuous features and disgusting pectoral development of this portrait; but if it were possible to determine it in her favor (?) we should have to exclaim :

"Appena si puo dir, questa fu rosa."

All writers on Italian literature mention our heroine at considerable length ; but of separate biographies the principal ones are the following : Gio. Batt. Rota, *Rime e Vita di D. Vittoria Colonna, Marchesana di Pescara,* 1 vol. 8vo, 1760 ; Isabella Teotochi Albizzi, *Ritratti,* etc., Pisa, 1826 (4th ed., copy in Astor Library) ; John S. Harford, *Life of Michael Angelo Buonarotti . . . with Memoirs of . . . Vittoria Colonna,* 2 vols., London, 1857 (Astor Library) ; Cav. P. E. Visconti, *Vita di Vittoria Colonna,* Rome, 1840 ; Le Fèvre Deumier published a memoir of her in French in 1856 ; T. A. Trollope, *A Decade of Italian Women ;* Mrs. Henry Roscoe, *Vittoria Colonna,* 1 vol., London, 1868. In 1844 the *Accademia degli Arcadi* at Rome decreed to have a bust of Vittoria made and placed in the museum of the Capitol. It was inaugurated with great pomp on May 12, 1845 ; and thirty-two poems in Latin and Italian were written to celebrate the event, and afterwards collected into a volume and published. The following is the simple inscription beneath the bust :

A. Vittoria Colonna.
N. MCCCCXC. M. MDXLVII.*
Teresa. Colonna. Principessa. Romana.
Pose.
MDCCCXLV.

* N. stands for *nacque,* M. for *morì.*

# THE JEWS IN ROME.

"According to the Gospel, indeed, they are enemies for your sake : but according to election, they are most dear for the sake of the fathers."—*Romans* xi. 28.

THE origin of the Jews in Rome is usually ascribed to the vast number of slaves brought to the capital by Pompey after taking Jerusalem in the year 63 B.C., which was the first considerable event that fixed the attention of classical writers on this wonderful people. If credit, however, be given to a reading of Valerius Maximus, as found in his epitomizers, Julius Paris and Januarius Nepotianus, first published by Cardinal Mai, they were of much older date in Rome, and from their earliest settlement had shown a disposition to proselytize which was considered dangerous to the republic. On this account they were expelled from the city and their synagogues were closed—*Judæos quoque qui Romanis tradere sacra sua conati erant idem Hispalus* * *urbe exterminavit, arasque privatas a publicis locis abjecit ;* but the mention of private altars erected by the Jews in public places has seemed so manifest an absurdity as to justify some in rejecting the whole passage as interpolated into the text of Valerius. We are loath to surrender so valuable a testimony of the early presence in Rome of Jews in considerable numbers, and perhaps the difficulty may be got over by supposing the pagans to have

* This Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispalus, who belonged to the noblest family of Rome, destined in after-ages to give martyrs, popes, and virgins to the Christian Church, was *prætor peregrinus* in B.C. 139, and as such responsible for the welfare and behavior of strangers in the city.

mistaken for an altar the elevated tribune or rostrum which stood in the centre of every synagogue and was used for prayer and the reading of the law. Our knowledge also that besides the regular synagogues, which were walled in and roofed, the Jews had sometimes chapels or oratories open to the air, presumably near the squares and gates or adjoining the highways leading out of the city, may help to explain the meaning of removing their private *altars* from the public ground. Whatever we are to believe about this banishment of the Jews along with Chaldean astrologers, it is quite certain that long before they had formed a distinct settlement in the city, and begun this oldest unbroken colony of their race in Europe, there had been communication between Jerusalem and Rome, and Jews visited Rome either as ambassadors in the days of the Machabees or in furtherance of that spirit of commercial enterprise which has always moved them. The earliest mention of the Romans with relation to the Jews in the Sacred Scriptures is found in Numbers xxiv. 24, where Balaam, speaking by anticipation of these conquerors of the ancient world, says that "they shall come in galleys from Italy: they shall overcome the Assyrians, *and shall waste the Hebrews.*" * *Chittim* in this passage, which St. Jerome renders by Italy in the Vulgate, is often used to denote the Romans, who became the masters of the peninsula; but the first historic and explicit mention of *Rome* in the Bible is in 1 Mach. i. 11, where Antiochus the Illustrious is described as having been a hostage there. About the year 161 B.C. the Jews were brought into close intercourse with the Romans, when Judas Ma-

* *Licet enim Roma tempore Balaam necdum esset condita, tamen Romam et Romanos conditum iri, eosque hæc bella gesturos, spiritu prophetico prævidebat Balaam* (Cornelius à Lapide, *Com. in Num.*)

chabeus, who had heard of their character and conquests, sent ambassadors to Rome with the consent of the council and people, in order to strengthen himself against Demetrius, King of Syria, and concluded a defensive alliance with the senate. "So Judas chose Eupolemus * the son of John, the son of Jacob, and Jason the son of Eleazar, and he sent them to Rome to make a league of amity and confederacy with them [the Romans]. And they went to Rome, a very long journey, and they entered into the senate-house" (1 Mach. viii.)

When the Jewish envoys—for such they were, despite their Hellenized names—arrived in Rome the republic was approaching its highest point of prosperity and power. Carthage was effectually humbled, although not yet destroyed, and Roman arms and intrigues had made themselves felt throughout Macedonia, Greece, and Asia Minor; the whole of Italy was reduced; Corsica and Sardinia were annexed; Sicily was a Roman province; Spain had been overrun, the Gauls, Ligurians, Istrians been vanquished, and every people on the shores of the Mediterranean had heard of the fame of the Romans, and that they were powerful and strong, and fear possessed them all. There already existed at that time, overlooking the Forum, one of the plainest, perhaps, but otherwise most important of all the public buildings of Rome from its connection with the foreign relations of the republic and afterwards of the empire. This was the *Græcostasis*, a mere open although richly paved and balustraded platform, whose only decoration was a small bronze figure of Concord, reserved as a waiting-place, a sort of privileged tribune, for the ambassadors of Greece and the public agents and deputies of other

* This Eupolemus has been identified by some writers with the author of the same name who wrote several books on the history of the Jews.

states, before being admitted to an audience of the senate, whose debates could be heard from there, and whose decrees were afterwards communicated to the envoys there in presence of the people. Its situation on the right of the *comitium* made it conspicuous from the Forum, and the sight of princes and nobles from so many various nations, Greeks and Gauls, Asiatics and Egyptians, in their national costumes, and frequently bearing splendid gifts, must have rendered the spectacle almost as gratifying as a triumph to Roman pride and love of pageantry. Here, then, stood to wait their turn Eupolemus and Jason, the first messengers of Jerusalem to Rome, the forerunners of those two other Jews, "ambassadors for Christ," who later were to make Rome happy by the spilling of their blood :

O Roma felix, quæ duorum principum
Es consecrata glorioso sanguine :
Horum cruore purpurata ceteras
Excellis orbis una pulchritudines. *

A memorial of this public intercourse between the Jews and the Romans, and which shows the lasting impression it must have made upon the Christian mind of Rome in after-centuries, is found in that singular composition of some antiquary of the middle ages, commonly called the *Mirabilia Romæ*, written about the year 1150. We are there told that a copy of this famous treaty, inscribed in letters of gold on a large bronze plate, had been once set up in the wall of St. Basil's Church: *In muro Sancti Basilii fuit magna tabula erea infixa que erat aureis literis grecis et latinis scripta continens pacem et amicitiam que fuit facta inter Judæos*

* Hymn of the *Roman Breviary* for feast of SS. Peter and Paul, 29th of June, composed by Elpis, wife of the philosopher Boëthius.

*et Romanos tempore Jude Machabei* (from a MS. of the University of Prague apud Papencordt, *Rom im Mittelalter*). We know that the originals or first drafts of international treaties were preserved by the Romans in the *Tabularium* of the Capitol, while copies engraved on metal were deposited in the Temple of Faith—*Fides Publica*—and it is not impossible that some zealous Christian may have saved the one relating to the Jews and Romans from the rapacity of the barbarians, and that it was afterwards exposed to public view, as the author of the *Mirabilia* says ; but if it ever existed there it has long since disappeared, and from the fact, too, that it was not seen by him—FUIT *magna tabula*—Jordan, while admitting the possibility of the thing, offers an ingenious solution of the difficulty (*Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, vol. ii. p. 471). The treaty of amity was renewed by Jonathan, who chose Numenius and Antipater to go to Rome. The latter was son of Jason, one of the first two commissioners. The former, accompanied by other Jewish ambassadors, was again despatched to Rome by Simon I., bringing a great shield of gold of a thousand pounds as a present to the senate, which received him well and gave him letters in favor of his countrymen, addressed to the various Eastern powers dependent on the republic through the consul Lucius, who is called in Machabees by his prænomen only, and is probably Lucius Cæcilius * Metellus Calvus, consul in B.C. 142, immediately after Simon assumed the government. In the year B.C. 65, when Syria was made a Roman province by Pompey, the Jews were still ruled by an Asmonean prince. Aristobulus had lately driven his

* He also belonged to one of those great patrician houses which was to give some of its noblest members to the early Christian Church. Vide Guéranger, *Sainte Cécile et la Société Romaine aux deux premiers siècles*, ch. xii.

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brother Hyrcanus from the high-priesthood and proclaimed himself king ; but Pompey, interfering, took the part of Hyrcanus, captured Jerusalem, reinstated him, and brought his rival in chains to Rome. His sons, Alexander and Antigonus, and his two beautiful daughters accompanied Aristobulus. These royal captives were among the three hundred and twenty-four princes and chiefs who preceded the car of Pompey at the splendid triumph for his Asiatic victories. Many other Jewish prisoners were carried to Rome at the same time, where they were either sold into bondage or allowed to settle down to private pursuits. A special district was soon assigned to this class, not on the site of the modern "Ghetto," between the Capitol and the river, but across the Tiber. Many of the slaves were redeemed by their fellow-countrymen already living in Rome, and wealthy ; and others, recommending themselves to their masters by their accomplishments, and in some cases by their religion, were made freedmen. Indeed, these despised foreigners made many proselytes from paganism to the worship of the true God, even among the higher classes, and thus, to use the words of Seneca, "The conquered gave laws to their conquerors"—*Victoribus victi leges dederunt.*

Pompey displayed unusual clemency after his triumph by sparing the lives of his chief prisoners, and even dismissing them, with few exceptions, to their several states. Alexander was allowed to go—he was afterward, however, beheaded at Antioch—but his father and brother were detained for eight years at Rome, when they escaped and excited fresh disturbances at Jerusalem. Gabinius, the Roman general, sent Aristobulus back to Rome, where he remained until Cæsar set him free, intending to send him into Syria with two legions to sup-

port his interests there against the party of Pompey, by whose partisans, however, he was poisoned before he could do anything. His body was preserved in honey,* and kept in Rome until Antony had it transported to Judea and laid in the sepulchre of the kings (Joseph., *Antiq. Jud.*, xiv. 13).

Julius Cæsar showed the Jews some kindness, allowing them the free exercise of their religion in Rome. They were the loudest and longest mourners at his obsequies in the Forum, and their hatred of Pompey, the first Roman violator of their sanctuary, must have deepened their attachment to his conqueror.†

Mommsen, in his *Roman History*, has developed the singular position which the Jews were destined to occupy in the reorganization of government and society which Cæsar began but did not live to complete.‡ Although the Jews who settled in Rome between the age of the Machabees and Pompey's capture of Jerusalem no doubt made a living by reputable traffic and industry, and some individuals even rose to opulence—perhaps, as Gibbon says, losing no opportunity of overreaching the idolaters in trade—after this national calamity, while their numbers increased, their respectability and popularity were much diminished by the immense influx which then brought in some of the poorest and most unruly of their brethren. From the contemptuous notices of the Jews which occur in the Latin authors after this period, most of them must have been in the lowest depths of penury, outcasts of society, utterly unscrupu-

* *Mellis natura est, ut corpora non sinat computrescere*, says Pliny in his *Natural Hist.*

† *In summo publico luctu exterarum gentium multitudo circulatim suo quæque more lamentata est; præcipue Judæi, qui etiam noctibus continuis bustum frequentarent* (Suetonius, *Cæsar.*, 84).

‡ *Stellung der Juden im Staate Cæsars*, iii. 533–535.

lous as to the means by which they lived—mere foreign adventurers ; and still, as Milman says, "the heathen could not but look with something of the interest excited by wonder on this strange, unsocial, and isolated people, who dwelt among them and yet were not of them. While the philosopher despised the fanaticism which he could not comprehend, the populace mingled something like awe with their dislike. The worse and more destitute of the race probably availed themselves of this feeling ; many, half impostors and half enthusiasts, gained their livelihood by working on the superstitious terrors of the people, who were never more open to deception than in this age of comparative advancement. The empire swarmed with Jewish wonder-workers, mathematicians, astrologers, or whatever other name or office they assumed or received from their trembling hearers" (*History of the Jews*, ii. 466). The magician and false prophet called Barjesu (*Elymas* being only the Arabic form), who had attached himself to the proconsul of Cyprus, Sergius Paulus, when the apostle visited the island (*Acts* xiii.), will occur to the reader, who may also recall this line of Juvenal :

> Qualiacumque voles Judæi somnia vendunt.
>
> —*Sat.*, vi. 547.

The Jews formed under the empire the chief population on the other side of the Tiber—the modern "Trastevere"—whence Martial's expression, *Transtiberinus ambulator*, applied to one of them, and the principal business exchange of the smarter sort seems to have been a curious monument on the Forum, called *Puteal Libonis* or *Scribonianum*, resembling a well, whence its name. It was erected by one of the family of the Scribonii Li-

bones, on whose coins it is represented.* The allusions to it in classical literature are associated with indebtedness or litigation growing out of money matters, and it thus became a rendezvous for usurers and brokers, among whom Jews abounded. Outside of the more thickly populated parts of the city a multitude of miserable Jews, particularly during Domitian's reign, pitched their camps, like modern gipsies, in the open air around the beautiful grove and fane and fountain of Egeria, their furniture consisting of a basket and an armful of hay to lie on :

> *Nunc sacri fontis nemus et delubra locantur*
> *Judæis, quorum cophinus fœnumque supellex.*
> —Juvenal, *Sat.*, iii. 13.

Augustus, following the policy of his uncle, rather favored the Jews. Sharing in the general largess of corn which was distributed by the government among the poorer inhabitants of the city, he allowed them to have their portion reserved if the distribution fell on a Sabbath. Martial alludes to their filth, and describes them as pedlars and junkmen, trafficking matches for broken glass ; Statius also mentions them in no complimentary terms. It was the amusement of the idle youth of Rome to visit the synagogue and make fun of the Jews ; and the well-known passage in Horace's ninth Satire will occur to the classical reader :

> *Hodie tricesima sabbata : vin' tu*
> *Curtis Judæis oppedere?*

It is singular that the same low manner of showing contempt for the Jews which the poet was not ashamed to exhibit should have been associated with mockery of

* Nichols, *The Roman Forum*, p. 127.

them for ages afterward, as we see by the fact that an ancient tower in one of the walls of Paris, in which the Jews were permitted to open a synagogue in the twelfth century, was called from that time "Pet au Diable."

Tiberius protected the Jews during the latter part of his reign after the fall of their enemy, the favorite Sejanus, but at an earlier period he drafted four thousand of the younger men into the army to serve in Sardinia and other unhealthy provinces, and banished the rest from the city: *Externas ceremonias, Ægyptios Judaicosque ritus compescuit; coactis, qui superstitione ea tenebantur, religiosas vestes cum instrumento omni comburere. Judæorum juventutem, per speciem sacramenti, in provincias gravioris cœli distribuit; reliquos gentis ejusdem, vel similia sectantes, urbe submovit, sub pœna perpetuæ servitutis, nisi obtemperassent* (Suetonius, iii. 36). The immediate cause of their maltreatment was a sacrilegious fraud practised by four of their number on a certain Fulvia, whom Josephus calls a woman of great dignity, and one that had embraced the Jewish religion (*Antiq.*, xviii. 3). His successor, Caligula, grievously oppressed them and insulted their religion, and it was to seek relief by a personal application to the emperor that the celebrated Philo, a Jew of Alexandria, undertook in the winter of A.D. 39–40, with four others of his race, that embassy to Rome which he has so graphically described in his *Legatio ad Cajum.* Claudius, who succeeded his nephew by a lucky accident, commanded all Jews to depart from Rome, on account of the tumults connected with the preaching of Christianity; but this banishment cannot have been of long duration, for we find Jews residing in Rome, apparently in considerable numbers, at the time of St. Paul's visit. They had a sort of council or house of judgment, which decided all matters of dis-

pute among themselves; there were also synagogues in different parts of the city, with their proper officers. Two old explorers of the Roman catacombs, Bosio and Aringhi, describe a Jewish cemetery on the Via Portuensis beyond the Tiber, which is now covered up again; but since they wrote two other Jewish catacombs have been discovered or reopened, one on the Via Appia, on the opposite side of the road to the Christian catacomb of San Sebastiano, in the Vigna Randanini, in 1859, and the other—which, however, has been only partially excavated—in the Vigna Cimarra on the same road, in 1866.* All the national customs and prejudices of the Jews were opposed to the Roman practice of burning the dead, which Tacitus asserts they never observed (*Hist.*, v. 5), and they clung with tenacity to their own mode of sepulture. In the catacomb of the Vigna Randanini, which is the largest hitherto discovered, there are paintings, sculptured sarcophagi, inscriptions, and Jewish emblems such as the palm-tree—a symbol of Judæa—and the seven-branched candlestick, etc., cut on the terra-cotta or marble slabs that close the graves. Most of the inscriptions in these Jewish cemeteries (nearly two hundred having been found in that of the Vigna Randanini alone) are rudely engraved in Greek letters; but the words of some are Latin, of others Hebrew, and some are Hebrew in the Latin characters. At the principal entrance is an oblong chamber open to the sky, but originally vaulted, with a good black and white mosaic pavement, in which are drains for letting the water run off, which shows that the place was used for washing the bodies. In the adjoining chamber are

* The best account in English of these Jewish catacombs is in Parker's *Archæology of Rome*, part xii.; and in Italian, in Father Garrucci's *Dissertazioni Archeologiche di vario argomento*, vol. ii.: *Cimiteri degli Ebrei*.

the remains of a well or lavatory for ablution. A low door leads from here into the purely subterranean portions of the cemetery, and from one of the principal galleries six square rooms, or *cubicula*, open out; a lateral passage leads to other similar chambers. The greater part of the catacomb is merely dug out of the soft rock; nor is there any certain indication of the age of the structure, except that, as Parker says, what architectural character there is in the upper part belongs to the first century. The construction of a wall at another entrance to the catacomb is of the fourth century. In some parts of the cemetery the *loculi*, or graves, are opened not parallel with, but at right angles to, the passage, and are cut in several tiers one above another, each capable of containing a corpse. This disposition of the bodies was called *cocim* by rabbinical writers. Sometimes the usual lateral direction of the graves is adopted, as in the Christian catacombs; and sometimes, again, the graves are sunk in the floor of the passages and chambers. Some portions of the cemetery indicate great poverty, and a crowding of the dead to save expense; yet it has been searched and despoiled, probably by the Goths or Lombards, as the great quantity of marble fragments and the displaced inscriptions attest. The inscriptions that have been recovered are set up *in situ*, but there is a cold and cheerless look about the place very different from that of any neighboring Christian catacomb, so full of the warmth of faith and hope and of the sufferings of this life and of the anticipated delights of Paradise. The palm is found as an emblem in both Jewish and Christian cemeteries; but while in these it symbolizes that victory which has long been won, in the other it suggests defeat and the judgments of God—as in those famous coins of Vespasian, on which we see a woman at

the foot of a palm-tree, bowed down and weeping, while a Roman soldier stands over her holding a spear, and we read the legend IVDÆA CAPTA.*

The majority of the Jews were poor and despised by the haughty Romans, but other Jews lived in Rome in wealth and honor, their princes being received with royal distinction and lodged in the palace of the Cæsars. Chief among these were the Herods, who, although of Idumean descent, and consequently aliens by race, were Jews in faith. The Idumeans had been conquered by John Hyrcanus (B.C. 130), and from the time of their conversion to Judaism remained constant to it, looking up to Jerusalem as their metropolis, and claiming for themselves the name of Jews. Herod the Great, whose father, Antipas, had gained the friendship of Cæsar, who made him a Roman citizen, was forced to fly to Rome (B.C. 40) before an invasion of the Parthians, where he was kindly received by Antony and Octavian. While there he was appointed king of Judea by the senate to the exclusion of the Asmonean line, and signalized his elevation to the throne by offerings to the Capitoline Jupiter. Herod Antipas, his son, tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa, was induced by the ambition of Herodias to go to Rome and sue for the title of king; but he was opposed at court by the agents of Agrippa, and condemned to perpetual banishment, B.C. 39. Ar-

* Many of the proper names in these Jewish catacombs are unmistakably Hebraic, and where the epitaphs refer to the station of the deceased it is always to officers of the synagogue—as APKONTEC (rulers), ΓPAMMATEI (scribes), etc.; but the names of other sleepers show them to have been Greek or Latin proselytes. The Jesuit antiquary, Father Garrucci, has pointed out a peculiarity in some of these inscriptions which shows the minuteness of Jewish opposition to the early Christians: namely, that although they used the Greek EN EIPHNH —In peace—yet whenever they employed the Latin language, instead of giving the Greek equivalent they rendered it by *In bonis*, in order to avoid the well-known Christian acclamation, *In pace*.

chelaus, another son of Herod the Great, was brought up at Rome and became a favorite of Augustus, but his tyranny after being made ethnarch by the emperor caused him to be exiled to Vienne, in Gaul, A.D. 7. A grandson of Herod the Great, Agrippa I., was educated at Rome with the imperial princes Claudius and Drusus; but he was a voluptuary like his companions, and after squandering a fortune in sumptuous entertainments, and bribes to the freedmen of the emperor, became so deeply involved in debt that he was obliged to leave Italy in disgrace. After a life of strange vicissitudes, which Josephus narrates (*Antiq.*, xviii. 7), he was thrown into a dungeon by Tiberius for an imprudent speech, and remained there until the accession of Caligula, A.D. 37, who loaded him with favors, even presenting him with a golden chain equal in weight to the iron one he had been made to wear in prison. Agrippa II. was at Rome when his father died, and about A.D. 50 was sent into the East with the insignia of royalty. In the last war he took part with the Romans against his countrymen, and, after the fall of Jerusalem, retired to Rome with his sister Berenice. He was there invested with the dignity of prætor, and died in Trajan's reign at the age of seventy, being the last prince of the house of Herod. Another very celebrated Jew living at this time was Josephus, who assumed the additional name of Flavius as a dependant of the Flavian family, having received from Vespasian the freedom of the city of Rome, where he lived the latter part of his life, engaged in literary pursuits and the composition of his works. His life reads more like a romance than sober history.

After the capture of Jerusalem by Titus on the 8th of September, A.D. 70, multitudes of Jews were brought

to Rome either as slaves or concubines, and seven hundred of the tallest and handsomest men were selected to grace the triumph of their conqueror. Among them were John of Giscala, Eleazar, and Simon Bar-Gioras, the three chief defenders of the city ; to these were reserved the *Scalæ Gemoniæ*, the passage from the Mamertine to the *Cloaca Maxima* and out into the muddy Tiber.* Four years after his triumph Vespasian dedicated the Temple of Peace. Its magnificence surpassed all expectation. The golden table of show-bread, weighing many talents, and the golden candlestick, from the Temple of Jerusalem, were deposited there (Joseph., *Bell. Jud.*, vii. 5, 7). The edifice was destroyed by fire in the sixth century, and even its ruins have disappeared ; but the Arch of Titus still exists, as if a special providence watched over it, on the *summa Via Sacra*, midway between the Coliseum and the Capitol, and has a greater historical and artistic interest than any other relic of imperial Rome. On either side of the interior is a fine *alto-rilievo* representing the triumphant procession of Titus. On the south side a number of persons carry aloft the spoils of the Temple—the seven-branched candlestick, the table of show-bread, and two long trumpets are clearly visible ; on the north side the emperor, standing in his car drawn by four horses, is surrounded by his guards and suite. Victory holds a crown of laurels over his head, and Rome personified is guiding the reins. To this day the Jews go around and will not pass under this memorial of their ruin. Near by is the Coli-

* " Jean de Giscala, Eléazar, Simon Bar-Gioras ; qui pense à eux aujourd'hui ? L'univers entier proclame et vénère les noms de deux pauvres juifs qui, quatre ans auparavant, dans cette même prison, avaient eux aussi attendu le supplice ; mais le malheur, le courage, la mort tragique des autres, ne leur ont point donné la gloire, et un dédaigneux oubli les a effacés de la mémoire des hommes " (*Mme. Auguste Craven*).

seum, to raise which twelve thousand captive Jews were made to labor :

> Quid mereare Titus docuit, docuere rapinis
> Pompeianæ acies, quibus extirpata per omnes
> Terrarum, pelagique plagas tua membra feruntur.
> Exiliis vagus huc illuc fluitantibus errat
> Judæus—postquam patria de sede revulsus
> Supplicium pro cæde luit, Christique negati
> Sanguine respersus commissa piacula solvit,
> Ex quo priscorum virtus defluxit avorum.
>
> —Prudentius, *Apotheosis.*

The only ones to take pity on the Jews, to defend them from oppression, to raise a voice in their behalf, were the successors of the poor Fisherman of Galilee.

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A REMARKABLE work recently published in England by the Rev. Henry Formby, on *The Primitive Religion of the City of Rome*, attempts to prove that the early monotheism, of which there are indications in many ancient writers, was originally derived from the Hebrews through the connection of Numa Pompilius with the school of the witnesses of the Lord God of heaven in Jerusalem. It is not improbable that at some earlier age than that of the Machabees Rome and Jerusalem were brought into a philosophical and religious intercourse, which was to end in the transfer of the seat of divine authority on earth from one city to the other, where it shall remain until the end of the world. The Jews, who were scattered throughout every nation and inhabited every large city in such numbers as to excite the astonishment of Strabo, had a superior mission * to

* Isaias xliii. 10.

perform in imparting the knowledge they possessed to all mankind, "for salvation is of the Jews." They were particularly numerous in Rome, where they were favored by Augustus, who settled a large colony of them in the Transtiberine quarter of the city about the Vatican and Janiculum hills, and allowed them the free exercise of their religion, distinct cemeteries for their dead, and the practice of the Mosaic law. This emperor used even to send considerable sums through them to Jerusalem to have sacrifices offered in his behalf; and the number of these Jews must have been large when Josephus tells us that as many as eight thousand attached themselves to an embassy which appealed to the emperor against the administration of King Herod (*Ant.*, xvii. 11). They had established the Synagogue of the Libertines at Jerusalem; and since there was not at this period a single religion, except the Jewish, which was felt by the more enlightened part of its professors to be real, we can understand the measure of success which attended the efforts of the better class of Hebrews to spread the knowledge of the true God among the Gentiles and inspire respect for their own belief. In this way many pagans professed the monotheism of the Jews, adopted their moral code, abstained from flesh-meat offered to idols, and abandoned other heathen practices. These were styled Proselytes of the Gate, and were quite numerous at Rome; but those who submitted to circumcision, fully observed the law of Moses, and were known as Proselytes of Justice were comparatively rare (Alzog, vol. i. p. 120). The number of Jews residing in Rome about the thirteenth year of the reign of Augustus, which corresponds with the beginning of the Christian era, has been estimated by statistical antiquarians at considerably upwards of twelve thousand. They bore, however,

but a small proportion to the entire population of the city, which was probably about two millions, nearly a half of whom were slaves. Between this time and the arrival of St. Paul the calamities and dissensions of Judea caused the emigration of large bodies of its inhabitants, many of whom took up their abode in the capital of the empire, so that in the reign of Caligula, A.D. 37-41, the greater portion of the city beyond the Tiber—a healthy and delightful locality—was occupied by Jews. A close and constant communication was kept up between these Jewish residents and their fellow-countrymen in Palestine by the exigencies of commerce, in which the sons of Jacob became more and more engrossed as their national hopes declined, and by the custom of repairing regularly to the sacred festivals at Jerusalem. It may be that some of those "strangers of Rome, Jews, and proselytes" who are mentioned in the Acts (ii. 10, 11) as present at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost carried back the earliest tidings of the new doctrine, or the Gospel may have first reached the imperial city through those who were scattered abroad to escape the persecution that followed on the death of Stephen (Acts viii. 4; xi. 19). As time advanced better-instructed teachers arrived, the chief of whom was St. Peter, who reached Rome in the spring of the year 42, in the reign of Claudius. Faithful to the understanding with the other apostles that the principal charge of laboring (but not exclusively) among the Jews was assumed by him, he went immediately to reside where a large body of his countrymen was collected, and dwelt in the house of the two Jewish converts, Aquila and Priscilla, on the Janiculum, near the present church of *San Pietro in Montorio.* The instructions of this apostle must have created con-

siderable excitement in the Jewish colony, as we may judge by analogy from the relations given in the Acts. In A.D. 49 Claudius "commanded all Jews to depart from Rome" on account of tumults connected with the preaching of Christianity, because, in the words of the Roman historian, "they excited an incessant disturbance, instigated by one Chrestus." That quarrels about the Messiaship of Christ and the commotion caused by the rising Christian community are meant by Suetonius is so obvious an explanation that no one disputes it. In this famous passage, *Judæos, impulsore Chresto, assidue tumultuantes, Româ expulit* (*In Claud.* xxv.), the historian ascribes the dissensions between Jews and Christians (who were all considered Jews, the most part being originally such) to Christ, whose doctrines and character they regarded. We here see the carelessness and contempt with which a Gentile writer usually treated what was called the superstition of the Jews. It was on this occasion that, as St. Peter was leaving Rome, he was detained by a reproachful vision of our Lord on the spot where afterwards arose the oratory of *Domine Quo Vadis.* Returning into the city, he betook himself to the house of the senator Pudens, of the *gens Cornelia*, to whom he was attached by the sacred ties of hospitality through his kinsman Cornelius, the Gentile convert and centurion in the Italic band at Cæsarea. His former hosts, Aquila and Priscilla, went to Corinth, where they became acquainted with St. Paul and abode together; but their banishment cannot have been of long duration, for many Jews returned to Rome in the early part of the reign of Nero, which was marked by clemency and peace. Among them were these two celebrated converts, and in the year 58, when St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans, their house was a place of assembly for the Chris-

tians (Rom. xvi. 3). Aquila was a native of Pontus and a tent-maker by trade, a man of wealth and consideration. Priscilla, his wife, was probably the freed-woman of some great Roman lady, who, it is almost certain, was no other than the wife of the senator Pudens, for that lady bore this name, as we learn from the acts of St. Praxedes. In the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles husband and wife are always mentioned together, but the latter generally first, whence we might conclude that she was the more energetic, and perhaps, from her connection with a patrician family, the more influential, of the two. The form *Prisca* is sometimes used, but such a variation in a Roman name is not unusual. A very ancient church on the Aventine, which is now known as *Santa Prisca*, and was long a cardinalitial title called *Titulus Aquilæ et Priscillæ*, marks the habitations of these two Jewish converts when they returned to Rome from the Claudian banishment, the Jews, at least those of the better class, not yet being constrained to reside in a particular part of the city. There are numerous passages in St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans which imply the presence at Rome of a large number of Jewish converts to Christianity. Of the names of Christians given in the salutations at the end of this Epistle, although that of Mary is the only one distinctively Hebrew, Andronicus, Junias, and Herodion are called St. Paul's "kinsmen," and must consequently have been of Jewish origin. Aquila and Priscilla were certainly Jews. The name Apelles was most commonly borne by Jews, as appears from Horace; and if Aristobulus was one of the princes of the house of Herod, as seems likely, we have also in his household several Jewish converts. Rufus, of verse 13, if the same as the son of Simon the Cyrenian mentioned in Mark xv. 21, was also a

Jew. But if some, and even a considerable number of Jews received the Gospel, the greater part obstinately remained outside of the church. When St. Paul reached Rome, about the year 62, the Christians were mainly converts from Gentilism, though many of them may previously have been Jewish proselytes. He invited the chief men among the Jews to come to him, and explained to them that though he was brought to Rome to answer charges made against him by the Jews in Palestine, he had really done nothing disloyal to his fellow-countrymen. The Roman Jews expressed themselves with evident reserve about the Christian community: "For as concerning this sect, we know that it is everywhere opposed" (Acts xxviii. 22). The closing chapter of the Acts vividly brings before us the final reprobation of the Jews in the person of their representatives at the seat of empire, now become the seat of religion also and the heiress of Jerusalem. A day being appointed, a large number came expressly to hear St. Paul expound his belief; and from morning till evening he bore witness to the kingdom of God, persuading them concerning Jesus; "and some believed the things that were said, and some did not believe," and these were the more numerous. Then said the apostle: "This salvation of God is sent to the Gentiles, and they will hear it. And when he had said these things, the Jews went out from him, and had much discussion among themselves." When St. Paul was brought to Rome he was allowed to dwell by himself in private lodgings with a soldier who kept him, and the house in which the impressive scene took place between the prisoner in chains for Christ and his obdurate fellow-countrymen is now the subterranean church of *Santa Maria in Via Lata*, in the modern Corso, which derives its name from having been erected on the

broad highway that in the apostle's time ran through the southern extremity of the Campus Martius and beside the magnificent new *Septa* of Julius Cæsar.

The Christians passed at first in the eyes of heathens, and especially of the Roman authorities, for a Jewish sect formed through some internal schism in the bosom of Judaism. As such they would only appear insignificant to the Romans, and in Rome, as elsewhere, the Jews were the first and bitterest accusers of the Christians. "Since the days of the apostles," said Tertullian, "the synagogue has always been a torrent of persecution." When Nero, terrified at the popular hatred excited by his conflagration of the city, cast about him for victims to bear the odium, it was probably Jewish influence which suggested the Christians; for Nero's wife, Poppæa Sabina, who then ruled him, was a proselyte, and he was himself surrounded by Jewish soothsayers and magicians. Thus began the first general persecution, and on June 29, A.D. 67, SS. Peter and Paul were put to death.

We do not hear much of the Jews in Christian writers, except in a controversial way, during the era of persecutions, although Judaizing Christians, and heretics infected with Jewish errors, sometimes troubled the church in Rome; such were the Cœlicolæ, the Cerinthiani, Ebionæi, Nazaræi, Elcesæi, and Samsæi. By the 63d of the Canons of the Apostles clerks who went into the synagogues to pray were deposed and laymen were excommunicated. By other canons in the same collection ecclesiastical censures were imposed on those who fasted on the Lord's day, observed Jewish feasts, or gave oil for consumption in synagogues; and since "evil communications corrupt good morals," the clergy and laity were forbidden to eat unleavened bread

with Jews, or to have any very intimate relations with them, or to consult with them in sickness; and the danger which lurked in association with the Jews is exemplified at great length by St. John Chrysostom in his six homilies *In Judæos.* But while warning the faithful against the danger of too close an intimacy with this misguided people, the Roman pontiffs were always ready to enlighten them and to ameliorate their temporal condition, which became more and more distressing as time wore on and the successive invasions of cruel and rapacious barbarians broke down the fabric of Roman civilization. We find a few scattered notices of Jews in Rome under Theodoric, King of Italy, in the beginning of the sixth century, when two disputes at Rome between Jews and Christians were settled by this Arian prince (Cassiodorus, *Var.*, iii. cap. xlv. and iv., cap. xliii.) One of the matters regarded with peculiar jealousy by the popes was the right of Jews to hold Christians in slavery, and at their instigation the earlier Christian emperors made various enactments restraining or entirely abolishing this shameful servitude, lest, as says St. Gregory the First (540–590), the true religion should be degraded by the subjection of its followers to the reprobate Jews. But if this great pope showed himself a strenuous advocate of the legal right of a Christian to his freedom against the Jew who would irregularly hold him in bondage, he was also a powerful patron of the Jews against every species of injustice and oppression, as we see by his letters, and particularly by one to Fantinus, the proctor at Palermo, and to Victor, bishop of the same city, concerning the Jewish synagogues and dwellings attached which had all been wrongfully seized, since by a law of the Theodosian Code (*De Judæis*, l. xxv. and xxvii.) the Jews were al-

lowed to retain their synagogues, but only forbidden to erect new ones.* Another letter to the same proctor shows us that the pope's tribunal was open equally to Jew and Christian, for one *Jamnus*, having personally appealed to it at Rome to obtain the return of his written bond, fraudulently detained by his creditors after his debt had been satisfied by the sale of his ship and chattels, had justice promptly done him. St. Gregory decided that the slaves of Jews, on becoming Christians, should be entitled to their liberty. He commended the bishop of Cagliari, in Sardinia, for protecting the Jews against the machinations of a certain fanatic, and blamed the bishop of Terracina for oppressing them. The influence of this celebrated pope was very far-reaching in the whole of the middle ages in regard to the treatment of the Jews who lived in the States of the Church, and the almost exceptional condition of the Jews in Rome, and the amount of liberty they enjoyed there during so many centuries, were due in a great measure to his mild and liberal disposition, perfected by a legal training and the piety of a saint. He would not, however, relax the rigid rule, made by one of his predecessors, not to hold any personal communication with Jews, because they often sought to corrupt by costly presents the members of the papal household, that the laws against them might not be executed. *Hinc est*, says John the Deacon, and this pope's biographer, *quod sicut a majoribus traditur, et usque ad tempora nostra, dum adhuc pubesceremus oculis nostris conspeximus, consuetudo vetus obtinuit ut omnes illius superstitionis homines quantum cunque pulcherrima mercimonia detulissent, nunquam pontificalibus alloquiis frueren-*

* St. Gregory's authority over Sicily was not merely spiritual, but, the Roman Church having immense possessions there, the popes exercised a temporal supervision, if not full sovereignty, over a greater part of the island.

*tur, nunquam obtutibus apostolicis potirentur, sed extra velum longissimæ porticus, non quidem in scamnis, sed in marmoreo pavimento sedentes, suscepta pretia numerabant, ne videlicet viderentur aliquid de manu pontificis accepisse* (*Vit. S. Greg.*, lib. iv. cap. l.)

Soon after the pontificate of St. Gregory the Great the Jews disappear almost from the annals of Rome, and their number was reduced in a few centuries to that mere handful found there by Benjamin of Tudela. Once only during this long period do we hear of an uprising of the Roman populace against them, which was in the year 1020 on the occasion of a frightful earthquake. On the accession of every new pope the Jews did homage and sang hymns in their own language, and as a return their *Schola* was one of the seventeen guilds or companies which received a gratuity of bread and wine and other delicacies from the palace on certain festivals: *Judæis viginti solidos provesinorum*, says Cenci in the *Ordo Romanus.* The earliest account that we have of the ceremony performed by the Jews when the new pope went in solemn cavalcade to take possession of the Lateran dates from the pontificate of Calixtus II., in 1119. In 1165 the Jews are described as going out to meet Alexander III. on his return to Rome *cum signiferis, stratoribus, scrinariis, judicibus, clero, etc., de more legem suam deferentes in brachiis* (Muratori, *Ant. Ital.*, tom. i. p. 896). This presentation of a copy of the law, which was elegantly written and richly bound, is a happy thought, suggested, perhaps, by the expression of St. Augustine that the Jews are *Christianorum bibliopolæ et librarii.* Besides a copy of the law, which was a tribute to the spiritual character of the pope, the Jews, to acknowledge his temporal dominion, presented annually in feudal style to the *Camera Apostolica* one pound of pep-

per and two pounds of cinnamon—rare articles in the middle ages, and which indicate the traffic of the Roman Jews with the East. For some centuries the Jews stood bareheaded on Monte Giordano, near where the modern Gabrielli palace is built, to offer their congratulations to the new pope going to take possession of his see—*juxta palatium chromacii Judæi faciunt laudem ;** but in the year 1484 a less exposed and more convenient site was assigned to them by Pope Innocent VIII. within the enclosure of Castel San Angelo. *Cum papa*, says Burkhard, the pontifical master of ceremonies to this pope, *pervenisset prope castrum St. Angeli se firmavit, et Judæi, qui ad inferiores merulas in angulo dicti castri versus plateam se cum ornatu, et lege suâ receperant, obtulerunt PP. legem adorandam, et honorandam verbis hebraicis in hanc ferme sententiam. Papam acclamantes: Beatissime Pater: Nos viri hebraici nomine synagogæ nostræ supplicamus S. V. ut legem Mosaicam, ab omnipotenti Deo Moysi pastori nostro in monte Sinai traditam, nobis confirmare, et approbare dignemini, quemadmodum alii Summi Pontifices S. V. prædecessores illam confirmarunt, et approbarunt. Quibus respondit pontifex: Commendamus legem ; vestram autem observationem, et intellectum condemnamus, quia, quem venturum dicitis, ecclesia docet, et prædicat venisse, Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum.* A remarkable occurrence connected with the Jews of Rome is the rise of a Jewish family to enormous wealth and power, its conversion to Christianity and bold attempt to seat one of its members on the chair of St. Peter, which led to a lamentable schism. The name of the

* This "Palace of Chromatius" was a famous landmark of mediæval Rome, and derived its name from the well-known prefect of the city mentioned in the ancient acts of the martyrdom of St. Sebastian. Parts of this palace were discovered—to the delight of Roman antiquaries—when the little church of *San Sebastiano in Piscinula* was demolished in the year 1741.

family that suddenly emerged from the synagogue in Trastevere to make a figure in the Church was *Pierleoni.* The great-grandfather (or, as some maintain, the grandfather) of the anti-Pope Anaclet II. was by birth a Jew —the Rothschild of the middle ages—whose financial ability made him useful to the Holy See, but whose great riches were accumulated, according to popular belief, by long-continued and oppressive usury.* In course of time he was baptized as Benedictus Christianus—*i.e.*, Benedict the convert—and after his conversion married a lady of noble blood. Their descendants were admitted into the Roman patriciate and allied themselves by marriage to the best families of the city. His son Leo, who signs himself *Leo de Benedicto Christiano* in a document of the year 1060, must have been a man of no ordinary character, if we judge by a metrical inscription composed for his tomb by the Archbishop Alfanus, in which his prudence, wisdom, wealth, and devotion to the Holy See are recorded. He was buried in San Alessio, on the Aventine. His son, Petrus Leonis, or Pier di Leone, gave to the family its distinctive patronymic *Pierleoni.* The possessions of the Pierleoni within the city covered a great part of the modern Ghetto, and their fortified palace (now the dwelling of the Orsinis) was constructed on the site and out of the ruins of the theatre of Marcellus, large portions of which are still standing. By means of walls and towers along the river they commanded an extended water-front, and controlled the bridge, even then called *Pons Judæorum*, between the city and the island of the Tiber. Their

* *Cum inæstimabilem pecuniam multiplici corrogasset usura—circumcisionem baptismatis unda dampnavit. Factus dignitate Romanus, dum genus et formam regina pecunia donat, alternis matrimoniis omnes sibi nobiles civitatis ascivit*, says Arnulf in his indignant letter to the anti-pope's legate in France (*Monument. Germ.*, xii. p. 711).

special rivals were the Frangipanis, who held the Arch of Titus, the Coliseum, and parts of the Palatine and Cœlian hills. Petrus Leo died on June 2, 1128, leaving several children ; and a marble sarcophagus with barbarous bas-reliefs and sculptures, which once contained his corpse, is now preserved, with other remains of the ancient basilica, in St. Paul's on the Ostian Way. One of his sons, who bore his own name, was sent to study at the University of Paris and afterwards became a monk of Cluny. While still young he was created a cardinal by Pope Paschal II. On the death of Honorius II., in 1130, those members of the Sacred College who were solicitous for the church's good and sensitive to her honor, knowing the loose morals and ambitious design of Pier Leone, hastened to elect Cardinal Gregory Papareschi, who took the name of Innocent II. ; but his opponent, relying upon the influence of his family and the number and daring of his adherents, gained over by a lavish distribution of money, had himself elected by the remaining cardinals and assumed the name of Anaclet II. As the party of the anti-pope was too powerful at the time for Innocent, he retired into France, and the schism was closed only by the death of Anaclet, who to the last kept possession of St. Peter's and Castel San Angelo, on January 25, 1138. St. Bernard of Clairvaux, who had come to Rome in the interests of the legitimate pontiff, was the principal agent in persuading the followers of the late anti-pope to return to their allegiance, and even brought in person the chief men of the Pierleoni family to the feet of Innocent, who received them kindly and promoted them to high offices and honors.

Shortly after the healing of this schism appeared at Rome one of the most remarkable Jews of the middle ages, Benjamin of Tudela, whose curious book of

travels, beginning in Spain and continuing through many different countries, contains the fullest account extant of the number and state of the Jews in the twelfth century. He visited Rome some time between the years 1159 and 1167, during the pontificate of that good and wise pope, Alexander III. "A journey," he writes, "of six days from Lucca brings you to the large city of Rome, the metropolis of all Christendom. The two hundred Jews who live there are very much respected and pay tribute to no one. Some of them are officers in the service of Pope Alexander, who is the principal ecclesiastic and head of the Christian Church. The principal of the many eminent Jews residing there are R. Daniel and R. Jechiel. The latter is one of the pope's officers, a handsome, prudent, and wise man, who frequents the pope's palace, being the steward of his household and minister of his private property. R. Jechiel is a descendant of R. Nathan, the author of the book *Aruch* and its comments. There are further at Rome R. Joab B. Rabbi R. Sh'lomo; R. Menachem, the president of the university; R. Jechiel, who resides in Trastevere; and R. Benjamin B. R. Shabtai, *o. b. m.*" *

In this short but important passage, which gives more details about the Jews in Rome than can be found anywhere else from the eighth to the fourteenth century, the initials *o. b. m.* at the end stand for the words "of blessed memory," and denote that the person after whose name they are put is dead; *B* stands for Bar, or Ben, the rabbinical Hebrew for son; *R.* is for rabbi, an epithet synonymous with, and used exactly like, the English master, whereas the reduplicate form Rabbi R., Rabbi Rabbi, distinguishes a person who is in possession of the clerical or ministerial dignity in the congregation of the

* Asher, *The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela*, p. 38.

synagogue, or of such eminent talents as universally to command the title of "master and teacher." While we appreciate the reasons why no mention is made of the renegade Pierleoni, whose Jewish origin was so opprobriously thrown up to them by some of the most celebrated writers in Europe during the recent schismatical pontificate of Anaclet II.,* we are disappointed in not finding here the name of Abraham B. Meir Aben 'Esra, a genius who commanded all the knowledge of his age, and had travelled in Africa and to India, and had composed works on astronomy and theology. He visited Rome as early as 1140, and died there in 1168. Being a native of Spain and such a distinguished Jew, he must have been absent from Rome when Tudela passed through that city, or he would certainly have been noticed. R. Nathan, the author of the celebrated dictionary *Aruch* (which Buxtorf, many centuries later, made such ungracious use of for his *Lexicon*), completed this work at Rome in the year 1101, and died there in 1106. He came of a literary family, his father, R. Jechiel B. Abraham, being known for his liturgical poems and other compositions, to be found in the Roman Machasor, where he is styled R. Jechiel B. Abraham *B. Joab.* Aben 'Esra wrote a commentary on Job for R. Benjamin B. Joab of Rome, which is now in the Vatican Library (*Cod. Vat.* 84). The R. Joab B. Rabbi R. Sh'lomo of Tudela was grandnephew to the famous Rabbi Nathan through his brother Abraham. This Rabbi Nathan's family has been traced at Rome down to the beginning of the fourteenth century. R. Menachem, the president

* St. Bernard says, *Judaicam sobolem sedem Petri occupasse* (Ep. 139), and Walter, Archbishop of Ravenna, stigmatizes the attempt of those who, so soon after embracing the faith, presumed to aspire to the highest dignity in the church, as *Judaicæ perfidiæ hæresis* (apud *Mansi*, xxi. p. 434). Ordericus Vitalis, Arnulfus, and others deride the Hebrew cast of countenance of the Pierleoni.

of the university—*i.e.*, head of the *Schola Judæorum*—at Rome, is the same whose virtues and learning are commemorated in the verses of Aben 'Esra, and perhaps also the same who is mentioned in manuscript collections of rabbinical decisions as one of the Roman rabbis. The name of *Shabtai*, which Tudela notices, is confined prior to the sixteenth century almost exclusively to Italy, where it was most common in Rome and Naples. It was a very distinguished race, and the chief Roman Shabtais of the middle ages are Shabtai B. Moshe, author of liturgical poetry; Calonymos B. Shabtai, who figured at Worms in 1090; Benjamin B. Shabtai, a teacher—the one mentioned by Tudela; Mathathia B. Shabtai, teacher of Talmudic law about 1250; Sh'lomo B. Shabtai, a commentator of *Sheeltoth* of R. Acha; Mordecai B. Shabtai, author of penitential prayers in the liturgy of the Roman synagogue; Moshe B. Shabtai B. Menachem, noted for his great riches *circa* 1340; Shabtai B. Levi B. Shabtai B. Elia B. Moshe Shabtai, copyist of the Vatican MS. No. 219 *circa* 1394; finally, Elia Beer B. Shabtai, a physician of repute and large practice about the year 1420. In the erudite work of Gaetano Marini on the court physicians of Rome—*Degli Archiatri Pontificii*—many famous and really learned Jews are noticed, whose services as physicians and surgeons were employed by several popes, particularly Boniface IX., Martin V., and Paul III. At the period of the revival of letters the Jews were the best Oriental scholars in Europe, and many of them made a living at Rome under the protection of wealthy cardinals and prelates as copyists of Arabic and Hebrew manuscripts. The study of Hebrew was always kept up at Rome by learned men in the church from the days of St. Jerome. Clement V., in the General Council of Vienne in 1311, ordered spe-

cial attention to be given to Hebrew in the universities and colleges; and at the coronation of Alexander V. in 1409 the Epistle and Gospel were read aloud in Latin, Greek, and *Hebrew*. Elias, a famous Jewish critic (1472–1549), lived and studied some time at Rome; in 1481 the apostolic preacher on Good Friday was complimented by Pope Sixtus IV. for his knowledge of Hebrew, as shown by texts of Scripture and citations from rabbinical writers with which he had loaded a sermon of two hours preached before the court. Under Alexander VI. Jochanan Alemàn flourished at Rome. He was born in Constantinople, but was called to Italy by Pico de la Mirandola, for whom he wrote two works, *Evè Haeda* and *Chescek Schelo'moh*. In 1483 we find the cabalist Abdias Sphornus at Rome and teaching Hebrew to Reuchlin; and so great was the renown of the Roman court for the patronage of every kind of learning, without prejudice of race or religion, that when the French rabbi, physician, and astronomer, Bonet de Lates, was looking about for a patron, he could find no one more munificent or acceptable than Alexander VI. to whom to dedicate his elegant Latin treatise describing an instrument of his own invention for measuring the altitude of the sun and the distance of the stars,* which the pope received so well that the author went to reside in Rome, where he enjoyed a great reputation for mathematics and astronomy. Jacob Mantino of Tortosa, who flourished in the sixteenth century, was physician to Paul III., and translated several works of Averroës and Avicenna into Latin. Julius III. also had a Jewish physician, Vitalis Alatini; and it was this same zealous pontiff who instructed and baptized a learned rabbi who

* *Boneti de Latis, medici Provenzalis, Annuli per eum compositi super astrologiam utilitates.* Rome, 1493, in 4to, 12 pages.

afterwards preached controversial sermons to the Jews in the oratory of *San Benedetto alla Regola*, which had such good effect that Gregory XIII. established a perpetual course of sermons to the Jews in 1584, to be given by a Dominican father who must be a doctor in theology and a perfect master of Hebrew.

Of the many laws made at Rome concerning the Jews living there, some have reference to faith and morals, and others relate to matters of habit and local customs; which last, depending for their *raison d'être* on the manners, amusements, fears, or prejudices of certain ages, are, of course, extremely variable, as may be seen by consulting that most interesting collection of mediæval municipal regulations, the *Statuta Urbis Romæ*, and were often abolished, modified, or re-enacted, according to the individual inclination of successive pontiffs or the temper of the Roman populace, which it was never easy to control. In a Roman council convened in the year 743 Pope Zachary forbade intermarriages between Jews and Christians and the selling of Christian slaves to Jews. Innocent III. found much to complain of in the villany of the Jews, who were always Ghibellines, as in Spain they favored the Moors. In the fourth Council of the Lateran, held by him in the year 1215, it was enjoined upon all Jews to wear a distinctive badge on their habit, so that they might be immediately known.*

Usury, that "breed for barren metal," as *Antonio* calls it, being strictly forbidden to Christians, fell naturally

* How Jews are recognized on early Christian monuments is one of the points of sacred archæology. The Jews of our Lord's time appear in various sculptures of scenes from his life on ancient sarcophagi engraved by Bottari, *Tav.*, lxxxv. *et passim.* They are usually distinguished by a flat cap or berretta, without a rim, and chipped to represent the curly material—lamb's wool—of which it was made. This was probably a distinctive feature of Jewish dress among the Romans.

into the hands of the Jews, who made no scruple to interpret the prohibition in Exodus xxii. 25 * according to the letter, thus excluding from its benefits the Gentile, who might be fleeced at discretion. † Their exactions became at last so severe that some relief was attempted in the fourth Council of Lateran, where the 67th canon says: *Quanto amplius Christiana religio ab exactione compescitur usurarum, tanto gravius super his Judæorum perfidia inolescit, ita quod brevi tempore Christianorum exhauriunt facultates.* Their cupidity was the cause of founding in the fifteenth century, when Jews often claimed the exorbitant interest of twenty and even twenty-five per cent., those benevolent institutions called *Monti di Pietà*, the first of which was opened at Padua in 1491. The one in Rome was established by Father Calvo, a Franciscan, in 1539. The original principle of the Lombard houses, as they used to be called in English, was to lend money on pledges for a fixed term at a low rate of interest, which at Rome was only five per cent., to defray the unavoidable expenses of such establishments. They differed essentially from pawnbrokers' shops in being under government control, and for the benefit of the borrowers and not for the profit of the lenders.

The thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were memorable for massacres of Jews in almost every large city of Europe except Rome, where the wild cry of "Hep! Hep!" was never raised, and whose streets were never stained with the blood of this ill-used race of men. This singular shout is supposed to have been formed

* "If thou lend money to my people, to the poor man who dwelleth with thee, thou shalt not be hard upon him as an usurer, nor oppress him with usury."

† We remember that a few years ago the only Jew in Tivoli, near Rome, was a money-changer named Giacobbe, who was allowed to occupy, scandalously, as we thought, the very room once inhabited by St. Ignatius Loyola.

from the initial letters of the three Latin words, *Hierosolyma est perdita*—Jerusalem is lost! It was the signal for sudden and sanguinary outbursts of popular fanaticism, in Germany particularly, where the Jews made themselves unusually odious to the sons of the Crusaders. A noble tribute to the humanity of the popes was paid by the Jews of that country, who sent a deputation of their number to Innocent IV. (1243–1254) to ask the protection of the Holy See: *Exterminium metuentes duxerunt ad Apostolicæ Sedis prudentiam recurrendum* (Raynald., *Annales*, cap. lxxxiv.) Rome was, in fact, the headquarters and very paradise of the western Jews, and even Dean Milman, who seems in his *History* to be almost more friendly to them than to the Christians, is fain to acknowledge that "in Rome the Jews have been more rarely molested than in any other country. They have long inhabited a separate quarter of the city, but this might have been originally a measure at least as much of kindness as contempt—a remedy against insult rather than an exclusion from society." Another writer, who has made a special study of the Jews of the middle ages, and whose bias, being unfriendly to the church, makes his testimony stronger, leads us to infer that the spirit of justice and humanity shown towards the Jews in Rome was not an effect of the milder or more refined nature of the Italians, who were civilized in ages when English, Germans, French, and Spaniards were still almost barbarians, but was inherent in the beneficent nature of the Papacy; for while French kings were grinding down the Jews in every worst manner, *French* popes protected them, and it was a *German* pope, St. Leo IX., who converted by his kindness the first of the Pierleoni family, and allowed him to give his own name to his son and heir: "Dès que l'établissement

des pontifs à Avignon fut décidé on y vit affluer de l'Espagne, de la France, et de l'Allemagne une nuée de Juifs que le commerce autant que *l'espoir du repos* y attirait. Clément V. les reçut à bras ouverts. Il fut leur protecteur contre les Pastoureaux" (Beugnot, *Les Juifs d'Occident . . . pendant la durée du Moyen Age*, part i. p. 158). Clement VI. (Pierre Roger de Beaufort, 1342–1352) was another powerful friend, and by letters of October 5, 1348, given at a time when there was the most intense excitement against the Jews, who were accused of kidnapping and murdering Christian children—particularly during Holy Week*—of poisoning wells, and otherwise spreading the terrible pestilence that then desolated many parts of Europe, he sought to allay the fears of the people, and forbade under very severe penalties to kill or to calumniate the Jews (Baluze, *Vitæ Paparum Avenion.*, xi. p. 254).

The celebrated Rabbi Joshua, or Joseph, whose ancestors fled from Navarre to Avignon when his brethren were expelled from Spain, and who afterwards lived at Rome, wrote a history of the Jews, in which he says that at the capture of the city by the Constable of Bourbon, under Clement VII., in 1527, which was followed by long-continued bloodshed and pillage, many of his race were slaughtered and all suffered in the general disorder; but the continuator of the chronicle of the Abbas Uspergensis declares that the Jews not only bought their own security, but made vast sums by purchasing the plunder—sacred vessels, church ornaments, etc.—at

* See Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, "The Prioresses Tale," for the spirit of the age ready to believe anything against the Jews:

> "For sufferance is the badge of all our tribe;
> You call me misbeliever, cut-throat, dog,
> And spit upon my Jewish gaberdine."
>
> —*Merch. of Venice.*

the cheapest rates : *Ex prædâ omnis generis vili emptâ, ingens lucrum facientes.*

The same rabbi tells us that at the triumphal entry into Rome of the Emperor Charles V., in 1536, they were threatened with spoliation by his followers : "And had it not been for the mercies of the Lord, which never fail, the Jews would have been given up to pillage on that day. For the men of the emperor gaped with their mouths, hissed, and gnashed their teeth at them, but the Lord delivered them." Under Julius III., a quarter of a century later, Cornelius of Montalcino, a Franciscan friar, embraced Judaism, circumcised himself, and "set his face as a flint" to preach against Christianity in the streets of Rome. The Talmud, to which his apostasy was attributed, was publicly burned; but although the populace was terribly excited, no violence was attempted against the Jews, on account of the measures which the pope had taken to defend them. "And he was long-suffering with them," says Rabbi Joseph (ii. p. 523), "because he delighteth in mercy." A few years later Gregory XIII., under whose pontificate the Jewish population of Rome amounted to about thirteen thousand, issued an edict, which was suspended at the gate of the Jewry, forbidding the reading of the Talmud, blasphemies against Christ and his blessed Mother, and ridicule of the ceremonies of religion. In 1562 St. Pius V. established a House of Catechumens, where Jews wishing to become Christians could be received for a time and properly instructed; and in many other ways has Roman charity displayed itself for the benefit of the Jews, to whom it is a greater kindness to instruct unto justice than to open wide the gates of wealth and honor, for "not by bread alone doth man live, but by every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God" (Matt. iv. 4).

In the year 1555 Pope Paul IV. issued a bull, *Cum nimis*, assigning to the Jews for ever a certain sufficiently ample and healthy locality in Rome, where no one can say that

> " They lived in narrow streets and lanes obscure,
> Ghetto and Judenstrass, in murk and mire ;
> Taught in the school of patience to endure
> The life of anguish and the death of fire."
>
> —*Longfellow.*

Our space does not allow us to pursue our subject into the recesses of the modern Ghetto, but we wish to give in this connection just one instance of the ignorance of the latest English guide to the Eternal City, whose *Walks in Rome* has succeeded to Story's once popular *Roba di Roma*. Mr. Hare, after telling his readers how " the fanatical Dominican (!) Pope, Paul IV.," imprisoned the Jews, goes on to say that " the Ghetto, or Vicus Judæorum, as it was at first called, was shut in by walls which reached from the Ponte Quattro Capi to the Piazza del Pianto, or 'Place of Weeping,' *whose name bears witness to the grief of the people* on the 26th July, 1556, when they were first forced into their prison-house " (vol. i. p. 252). This is mere bosh, but, since it is only a little matter about a pope, and a very saintly one, the Italian proverb must hold good, *Se non è vero, è ben trovato ;* yet any one acquainted with the origin of the streets and squares of Rome knows that the Piazza del Pianto has no connection whatever with the Jews and their Ghetto, but existed long before the Jews were restricted to this part of the city, and derives its name from a devout picture of Our Lady of Sorrows, called *Madonna del Pianto*, exposed at the corner of a private dwelling-house in the form of a shrine (Panciroli, *Tesori nascosti di Roma*, p. 476 ; Vasi, *Tesoro Sagro*, tom. ii. p. 89 ; Vasari, *Vite de'*

*piu excellenti Pittori*, vol. vi. p. 742). During the reign of Clement VII. one of those singular Oriental Hebrews upon whose pretensions and adventures so much has been written suddenly appeared in Rome. His name was David Reubeni, prince or ambassador of the Reubenites in the desert of Chobar, from whence he travelled to Djidda by way of the plains, crossed the Arabian Gulf to Abyssinia, and for some time wandered about the Nubian Empire and Egypt and Palestine. In 1523 he embarked from the island of Candia for Venice, and thence journeyed through Pesaro and Castelnuovo to Rome, where we know that in October, 1524, he had already been for eight months. Leaving Rome for a tour in the southern provinces, he returned in February, 1525, and a year later departed for a visit to Spain and Portugal. In some of the cities of Granada the newly-converted Moorish Jews hailed him as their Messias, which led to his imprisonment by the inquisitor-general of Murcia; but he must soon have recovered his liberty, for we find him shortly afterwards again in Italy and making some stay at Rome. He is described as a little, weak, spare man of the age of forty, speaking Arabic and Hebrew, and calling himself the envoy of his brother, King Joseph, who ruled over the still existing tribes of Reuben, Gad, and the half of Manasseh in the desert of Chobar. He told the pope that he came to solicit aid against the Mohammedan Arabs, who persecuted this remnant of the people of Israel, and pretended that he was a lineal descendant of David. His royal pedigree was inserted in an epistle which he wrote to John III. of Portugal, to urge him to undertake the conquest of Palestine in conjunction with his brother's army. This impostor finally died in a dungeon in

Spain, after several years' confinement. Among the Jews of the Persian, Greek, and Roman periods there were unquestionably many legitimate Davidians, as the descendants of King David were styled ; but in consequence of the dispersion and exterminating wars, the connecting links of the old families were lost or confused as early as the first centuries of the Christian era. It was a characteristic weakness of some eminent Jews to boast of noble, and particularly Davidic, blood, and spurious pedigrees were often drawn up and triumphantly exhibited—the "endless genealogies" which St. Paul condemns (1 Tim. i. 4). During the middle ages two families above all others asserted their Davidic descent —the *Nesiim* of Narbonne, which had branches at Mosul, Damascus, and in Andalusia, and the *Negidim* of Egypt. It is curious in this connection to recall of Benjamin Disraeli that, being at Jerusalem in 1831, and visiting the traditionary tombs of the kings, "My thoughts," he says, "recurred to the marvellous career which had attracted my boyhood," and he soon after published the *Wondrous Tale of Alroy*, an Oriental romance of extraordinary eloquence and power, depicting the adventures of a prince of the house of David who in the twelfth century proclaimed himself the Messias and called the Jews of Persia to arms. Solomon Ben Virga, a Spanish Jew and physician, wrote a singular history of the calamities of the Jewish nation, which was translated into Latin by Gentius, at Amsterdam, in 1690. The most remarkable part of the work is its close. It is a bold attempt by an apologue, which assumes the form of history, to place all the Jews of the world under the protection of the Sovereign Pontiff. In fact, Christian Rome has always been "from child to child, from pope

to pope, from age to age," the asylum and home of this oppressed people, and even the mild restraints to which they were formerly subjected in the Eternal City were gradually but surely melting away before the benign influence of the Roman Pontiffs.

# EARLY PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHRISTIANS.*

In one of his bold Apologies † the great African writer Tertullian said to the rulers of the Roman Empire that "it was one and the same thing for the truth [of Christianity] to be announced to the world, and for the world to hate and persecute it." This persecution of the church began on the very spot that was her birthplace; for soon after the ascension of our Lord the wicked Jews tried by every means to crush her. "From the days of the apostles," wrote Tertullian in the third century, "the synagogue has been a source of persecutions." At first the church was attacked by words only; but these were soon replaced by weapons, when Stephen was stoned, the apostles were thrown into prison and scourged, and all the East had risen in commotion against the Christians. The Gentiles soon followed the example of the Jews, and those persecutions which bore an official character throughout the Roman Empire, and lasted for three centuries, are commonly called the Ten

* A French professor, Monsieur Aubé, a man of ability and research, but almost Dodwellian in his severity of criticism on the Acts of the martyrs and kindred testimony as to the number of Christians who perished under the empire—Henry Dodwell was an Anglican writer of the seventeenth century, who bitterly attacked the genuineness of the early accounts from Catholic sources of the sufferings of the martyrs, in the eleventh of his *Dissertationes Cyprianicæ*—has recently published some interesting studies on the persecutions of the church: *Histoire des Persécutions de l'Eglise*, in 2 vols., and *Les Chrétiens dans l'Empire Romain*, 1 vol., Paris, 1881, which brings the subject down to the middle of the third century, and will be continued, we presume, until the triumph of Constantine.

† *Apol. vii.*

General Persecutions. Besides these, there were partial persecutions at all times in some part or other of the empire. Nero, whose name is synonymous with cruelty, was the first emperor to begin a general persecution of the Christians; and Tertullian made a strong point in their favor when he cried out to the people (*Apol. v.*), saying, "That our troubles began at such a source, we glory; for whoever has studied his nature knows well that nothing but what is good and great was ever condemned by Nero." This persecution began in the year 64 and lasted four years. Its pretext was the burning of Rome, the work of the emperor himself, who ambitiously desired, when he would have rebuilt the city and made it still more grand, to call it by his own name; but the plan not succeeding, he tried to avert the odium of the deed from his own person, and accused the Christians. Their extermination was decreed. The pagan historian Tacitus has mentioned, in his *Annals* (xv. 44), some of the principal torments inflicted on the Christians. He says that they were covered with the skins of wild beasts and torn to pieces by savage hounds, were crucified, were burned alive, and that some, being coated with resinous substances, were put up in the imperial garden at night to serve as human torches. The *Roman Martyrology* makes a special commemoration, on the 24th of June, of these martyrs for having all been disciples of the apostles and the firstlings of the Christian flock which the church in Rome presented to the Lord.* In this persecution St. Peter was crucified with his head downwards; St. Paul was beheaded; and among the other more illustrious victims we find St. Mark the

* *Erant hi omnes apostolorum discipuli, et primitiæ martyrum, quos Romana Ecclesia, fertilis ager martyrum, ante apostolorum necem, transmisit ad Dominum.*

Evangelist, St. Thecla, the first martyr of her sex, SS. Gervase and Protase at Milan, St. Vitalis at Ravenna, and St. Polycetus at Saragossa in Spain. The number of the slain, and the hitherto unheard-of cruelties practised upon them, moved to pity many of the heathen, and the sight of so much fortitude for a principle of religion was the means, through divine grace, of many conversions. After this, as after every succeeding persecution, the great truth spoken by Tertullian was exemplified: that the blood of the martyrs was the seed of Christians.

By a law of the empire, which was not revoked until nearly three hundred years afterwards, under Constantine, the profession of the Christian religion was made a capital offence. This law, it is true, was not enforced at all times, especially under benign or indifferent rulers; but it hung continually suspended over the heads of the Christians like a sword of Damocles.

The second persecution was that of Domitian, from 94 to 96. Tertullian calls him "a portion of Nero by his cruelty." At first he only imposed heavy fines upon the wealthy Christians; but, thirsting for blood, he soon published more cruel edicts against them. Among his noblest victims were his cousin-german, Flavius Clemens, a man of consular dignity; John the Evangelist, who was thrown into a caldron of boiling oil (from which, however, he miraculously escaped unhurt); Andrew the Apostle, Dionysius the Areopagite, and Onesimus, St. Paul's convert. Hegesippus, quoted by Eusebius in his *Ecclesiastical History*,* has recorded a very interesting fact about the children of Jude, surnamed Thaddeus in the Gospel, telling us that, having confessed the faith under this reign, they were always honored in the church

* Iii. 20, 32.

of Jerusalem, not alone as martyrs, but as relatives of Jesus Christ according to the flesh.

The third persecution was Trajan's, from 97 to 116. In answer to a letter from his friend Pliny the Younger, who had command in Asia Minor, the emperor ordered that the Christians were not to be sought out, but that, if accused and obstinate in their faith, they were to be put to death. Under an appearance of mercy a large field was opened for the cruelty and exactions of Roman officials, which they were not slow to work. A single circumstance attests the severity of the persecution. This was that Tiberian, governor of Palestine, wrote to the emperor, complaining of the odious duty imposed upon him, since the Christians were forthcoming in greater numbers than he could, without tiring, have executed. The persecution was particularly severe in the East. Simeon, Bishop of Jerusalem, Ignatius of Antioch, and the virgin Domitilla, who was related to three emperors, are among the more illustrious martyrs of the period.

Next came the persecution of Hadrian, lasting from 118 to about 129. We have the authority of St. Jerome for saying that it was very violent. This emperor was a coward and, perhaps as a consequence, intensely superstitious. One of his particular grievances against the Christians was that they professed a religion in which he had no share. Under him perished, with countless others, Pope Alexander I. and his priests, Eventius and Theodulus; Eustace, a celebrated general, with his wife and little children; Symphorosa and her seven sons; Zoe, with her husband and two children.

The fifth was the persecution of Marcus Aurelius. Although he was by nature well inclined, he was certainly the author of much innocent bloodshed, which may

be in part ascribed to the powerful influence of the so-called philosophers whose company and tone he affected. The persecution raged most severely among the Gauls; and elsewhere we find the illustrious names of Justin the great Apologist, Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, and Felicitas and her seven children.

Followed the persecution of Septimius Severus, which lasted from 200 to 211, and was so extremely violent that many Christians believed Antichrist had come and that the end of the world was drawing nigh. It reaped from the church such distinguished persons as Pope Victor at Rome; Leonidas, father of the great Origen, at Alexandria; Irenæus and companions at Lyons; Perpetua and Felicitas in Mauritania. Egypt was then particularly rich in holy martyrs.

After this one came the persecution of Maximinus, from 235 to 237. It was in the beginning more especially directed against the sacred ministers of the church. Several popes were put to death; and among the inferior clergy we find the deacon Ambrose, who was the bosom friend of Origen and one of his principal assistants in his work on the Holy Scriptures.

The persecution of Decius lasted from 249 to 251. The Christians, in spite of all repressive measures, had steadily increased in numbers; but this emperor thought to do what his predecessors had failed in, and was hardly seated on the throne before he published most cruel edicts against them. Among the more celebrated names of this persecution are those of Popes Fabian and Cornelius; Saturninus, first bishop of Toulouse; Babylas, Bishop of Antioch; the famous Christopher in Lycia, about whom there is a beautiful legend; and the noble virgin Agatha in Sicily. The great scholar Origen was put to the torture during this persecution, but escaped

death. Like Maximinus, this emperor singled out the heads of the various local churches, the most active and learned ministers, the highest of both sexes in the social scale, aiming less at the death than the apostasy of Christians, hoping in this way to destroy the faith; whence St. Cyprian laments in one of his epistles that the Christians suffer atrocious torments without the final consolation of martyrdom. One effect of this persecution was of immense benefit to the church in the East; for St. Paul, surnamed First Hermit, took refuge from the storm in Upper Egypt, where he peopled by his example the region around Thebes with those holy anchorites since called the Fathers of the Desert.

The ninth persecution was that of Valerian, who, although at first favorable to the Christians, became one of their greatest opposers at the instigation of their sworn enemy, Marcion. At this date we find upon the list of martyrs the eminent names of Popes Stephen and Sixtus II., Lawrence the Roman deacon, and Cyprian, the great convert and bishop of Carthage.

The persecution of Diocletian was the last and the bloodiest of all. It raged from 303 to 310. Maximian, the emperor's colleague, had already put to death many Christians, and among others, on the 22d of September, 286, Maurice and his Theban legion, before the persecution became general throughout the Roman Empire. It began in this form at Nicomedia on occasion of a fire that consumed a part of the imperial palace, and which was maliciously ascribed to the Christians; and it is remarkable that the two extreme persecutions of the early church should both have begun with a false charge of incendiarism. Diocletian used to sit upon his throne at Nicomedia, watching the death-pangs of his Christian subjects who were being burned, not singly, but in great

crowds. Many officers and servants of his household perished, and, to distinguish them from the rest, they were dropped into the sea with large stones fastened about their necks. A special object of the persecutors was to destroy the churches and tombs of earlier martyrs, to seize the vessels used in the Holy Sacrifice, and to burn the liturgical books and the Holy Scriptures. The *Roman Martyrology* makes a particular mention on the 2d of January of those who suffered death rather than deliver up these books to the tyrant.* Although innumerable copies of the Scriptures perished, not a few were saved, and new copies multiplied either by favor of the less stringent executors of the law or because the privilege was bought by the faithful at a great price. Some years ago the German Biblical critic Tischendorf discovered on Mount Sinai a Greek codex of extraordinary antiquity and only two removes from an original of Origen. It is connected with one of the celebrated martyrs of this persecution, and bears upon what we have just said of the Sacred Scriptures. In this codex, at the end of the Book of Esther, there is a note attesting that the copy was collated with a very ancient manuscript that had itself been corrected by the hand of the blessed martyr Pamphilus, priest of Cæsarea in Palestine, while in prison, assisted by Antoninus, his fellow-prisoner, who read for him from a copy of the Hexapla of Origen which had been revised by that author himself. The touching spectacle of these two men, both of whom gave their blood for the faith, occupied, in the midst of the inconveniences, pain, and weariness of captivity, in transcribing good copies of the Bible, is one of

* *Romæ commemoratio plurimorum sanctorum martyrum qui, spreto Diocletiani Imperatoris edicto, quo tradi sacri codices jubebantur, potius corpora carnificibus, quam sancta dare canibus maluerunt.*

the many instances, discovered in every age, showing the care that the Church has had to multiply and guard from error the holy written Word of God.

Among the petty sources of annoyance during this persecution was the difficulty of procuring food, drink, or raiment that had not been offered to idols; for the pagan priests had set up statues of their divinities in all the market-places, hostelries, and shops, and at the private and public fountains. They used also to go round city and country sprinkling with superstitious lustral water the gardens, vineyards, orchards, and fields, so as to put the Christians to the greatest straits to obtain anything that had not been polluted in this manner. We learn from the Acts of St. Theodotus, a Christian tradesman of Ancyra, the obstacles he had to surmount at this time to procure pure bread and wine to be used by the priests in the Mass. We can appreciate the intense severity of this persecution in many ways; but one of the most singular proofs of it is that pagans in Spain inscribed upon a marble monument, erected in Diocletian's honor, *that he had abolished the very name of Christian.* This emperor had also the rare but unenviable privilege of giving his name to a new chronological period, called by the pagans, in compliment to his bloody zeal for their rites, the Era of Diocletian; but the Christians called it the Era of the Martyrs. It began on the 29th of August, 284, and was long in use in Egypt and Abyssinia. Some of the more renowned victims of this persecution are Sebastian, an imperial officer; Agnes, a Roman virgin; Lucy, a virgin of Syracuse, and the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste.

It may be interesting to note briefly the chief causes of so much cruel bloodshed, even under princes of undoubted moderation in the general government of affairs,

as were Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, Antoninus the Pious, and a few others.

The most continual, if not the deepest, source of persecution were the passions of the populace. Calumny of the subtlest and most popular kind, and pressed at all times with patient effort, had so inflamed the minds of the brutal lower classes that only a word or a sign was required to set them upon the Christians. These were called disloyal to the empire, unfriendly to the princes, of a foreign religion, people who refused to fall into the ways of the majority, and enemies of the human race. From the remains of ancient histories, from the Acts of martyrs, from pagan inscriptions, and from other sources, more than fifty-seven different opprobrious qualifications, applied to the Christians as a body, have been counted up. But when particular calumnies became any way stale the Christians could always be accused as the cause of every calamity that befell the state; so that, in the words of Tertullian (*Apol. xl.*), "If the Tiber exceeded its limits, if the Nile did not rise to irrigate the fields, if the rain failed to fall, if the earth quaked, if famine or pestilence scourged the land, at once the cry was raised, Christians to the lions!"

The next most constant source of trouble was the pernicious influence of the Philosophers—a set of men who pretended to be seekers after wisdom, and distinguished themselves from the vulgar by a certain style of dress. Puffed up as they were with their own knowledge, nothing irritated their pride so much as that men of the despised Christian class should presume to dispute their doctrines and teach that profane philosophy was naught, since man could not be made perfect by human wisdom, but only by the testimony of Christ who was crucified. Among the Christians, too, a special order of

men whom we call Apologists, and among whom we count Justin, Tertullian, Tatian, Arnobius, Minutius Felix, Origen, Aristides, Quadratus, Athenagoras, and Miltiades the chief, exposed in their eloquent writings the vanity, contradictions, and vices of their opponents, succeeding sometimes in silencing false accusations, and even in arresting the course of persecution. Their apologies and memorials form one of the most instructive branches of early Christian literature, and are a considerable compensation for the loss of so many Acts of martyrs and other venerable documents destroyed by the pagans or which have otherwise perished.

The third great cause of persecution was found (to use a comparatively modern word) in the Erastianism of the Roman Empire. The emperor was, by right of the purple, high-pontiff, and no religion was recognized that did not profess its existence and authority dependent upon the state.* Naturally, a religion whose followers would reply to every iniquitous command, "We ought to obey God rather than men," could expect no mercy, but only continual war.

Sometimes the Christians were put to death in the same manner as common malefactors, such as by decapitation, crucifixion, or scourging; sometimes in the manner reserved for particular classes of criminals, as being hurled down a precipice, drowned, devoured by wild beasts, left to starve. But sometimes, also, the exquisite cruelty of the persecutors delighted to feed upon the sufferings of its victims and make dying as long and painful as possible. Thus there are innume-

*Some kind of exception was made for the Jewish worship; for the Jews, although detested, were not only tolerated but protected in the observance of their code, exempted from civil action on the Sabbath, excused from adoring the image of the emperor, etc. See Josephus (*Ant. Jud.*, xvi. 6) for enactments in their favor.

rable examples of Christians being flayed alive, the skin being neatly cut off in long strips, and pepper or vinegar rubbed into the raw flesh; or slowly crushed between two large stones; or having molten lead poured down the throat. Some Christians were tied to stakes in the ground and gored to death by wild bulls, or thinly smeared with honey and exposed under a broiling sun to the insects which would be attracted; some were tied to the tails of vicious horses and dragged to pieces; some were sewed up in sacks with vipers, scorpions, or other venomous things, and thrown into the water; some had their members violently torn from the trunk of the body; some were tortured by fire in ways almost unknown to the most savage Indians of America; some were slowly scourged to death with whips made of several bronze chainlets, at the extremity of each of which was a jagged bullet; while jerking out of the teeth in slow succession; cutting off the nose, ears, lips, and breasts; tearing of the flesh with hot pincers; sticking sharp sticks up under the finger-nails; being held suspended, head downward, over a smoking fire; stretching upon a rack, and breaking upon the wheel, were some only of the commonest tortures that preceded the final death-stroke by sword or lance. Many instruments used in tormenting the martyrs have been found at different times, and are now carefully preserved in collections of Christian antiquities; and from these, from early written descriptions, and from the rude representations on the tombs of martyrs in the Catacombs, it is known positively that over one hundred different modes of torture were used upon the Christians.*

* Livy says that no people were fonder of moderation in punishment than the Romans; but under the empire public executions became frequent, and new and

From the earliest period particular pains were taken by the pastors of the church to have the remains of the martyrs collected and some account of their sufferings consigned to letters; and Pope St. Clement, a disciple of the Apostle Peter, instituted a college of notaries, one for each of the seven ecclesiastical districts into which he had divided Rome, with the special charge of collecting with diligence all the information possible about the martyrs. They were not to pass over even the minutest circumstances of their confession of faith and death. This attendance on the last moments of the martyrs was often accompanied by great personal risk, or at least a heavy expense in the way of buying the good-will of venal officers; but it was a thing of the utmost importance, in view of the church's doctrine concerning the veneration and invocation of saints, that nothing should be left undone which prudence would suggest to prove beyond a doubt that the martyrs had confessed the *true* faith, and had suffered death *for* the faith.* The pagans soon discovered the value that was set upon such documents, and very many of them were seized and destroyed. The fact that the Acts of the martyrs were objects of careful search is so well attested—as is also the other fact, that an immense number perished—that it is a wonder and a grace of divine Providence how any, however few comparatively, have come down to us. It has been calculated that at least five million Christians—men, women, and children—

cruel torments were introduced. The persecution of the Christians whetted the appetite of the populace for horrors, and did much to undermine the old fabric of chartered liberties and reduce the world under the tyranny of the emperor.

*Schismatics and heretics, even if put to death as Christians, were not real martyrs. Cyprian (*De Unitate*, cap. iv.): "He cannot be a martyr who is not in the church"; and Augustine (Ep. 173, cap. vi.) says: "Outside the church, and severed from unity and the bond of charity, you will be punished everlastingly, even though you should be burned alive for the name of Christ."

were put to death for the faith during the first three centuries of the church.

The French historian Ampère has very justly remarked that amidst the moral decay of the Roman Empire, when all else was lust and despotism, the Christians alone saved the dignity of human nature; and the Spaniard Balmes, when treating of the progress of individuality under the influence of Catholicity (*European Civilization*, ch. xxiii.), remarks that it was the martyrs who first gave the great example of proclaiming that "the individual should cease to acknowledge power when power exacts from him what he believes to be contrary to his conscience." The patience of the martyrs rebuked the sensualism of the pagans; and their fearless assertions that matters of conscience are beyond the jurisdiction of any civil ruler proved them to be the best friends of human liberty; while their constancy and number during three hundred years of persecution, that only ceased with their triumph, is one of the solid arguments to prove that the Catholic Church has a divine origin, and a sustaining divinity within her:

> "A milk-white Hind, immortal and unchang'd,
> Fed on the lawns, and in the forest rang'd;
> Without unspotted, innocent within,
> She fear'd no danger, for she knew no sin:
> Yet had she oft been chas'd with horns and hounds,
> And Scythian shafts, and many wingèd wounds
> Aim'd at her heart; was often forc'd to fly,
> And doom'd to death, tho' fated not to die."
>
> —*Dryden.*

# THE FIRST JUBILEE.

ALMIGHTY GOD, who has "ordered all things in measure and *number* and weight" (Wisd. xi. 21), and who teaches us, under the guidance of his Church, to observe sacred times and seasons, brings around periodically the Holy Year of Jubilee, during which an extraordinary indulgence is granted by the pope, that sinners being led to repentance, and the just increased in grace, each one shall have it said to himself: "In an *acceptable time* I have heard thee" (Is. xlix. 8).

We will not touch here upon the nature or doctrine of indulgences, more than to give a definition of our Jubilee, viz., a solemn plenary remission of such temporal punishment as may still be due to divine justice after the guilt of sin has been forgiven, which the Sovereign Pontiff, in the fulness of apostolic power, makes at a stated period to all the faithful, on condition of performing certain specified pious works; empowering confessors to absolve for the nonce in reserved cases and from censures not specially excepted, and to commute all vows, not likewise excepted, into other salutary matter. Our late Holy Father, Pius IX., by an Encyclical Letter dated from St. Peter's on the vigil of Christmas, announced that, the year 1875 completing the cycle of time determined by his predecessors for the recurrence of the Jubilee, he declares it the Holy Year, and sets forth the conditions of the same, with other circumstances of ecclesiastical discipline usual on so rare an occasion of grace.

The origin of the word *jubilee* itself is uncertain. It is a Hebrew term that first occurs in the twenty-fifth chapter of Leviticus: "And thou shalt sanctify the fiftieth year, . . . for it is the year of Jubilee." Josephus (*Antiquit.*, iii. 11) says that it means *liberty*, by which his annotators understand that discharge among the Jews from debts and bondage, and restitution to every man of his former property, as commanded by the law. The more common opinion derives it from *jobel*, a ram's horn, because the Jubilee year was ushered in by the blasts of the sacred trumpets, made of the horns of the ram. Pope Boniface VIII. is erroneously supposed by many to have instituted the Christian Jubilee; for he only restored what had already existed, and reduced it substantially to its present form; inasmuch as there had been from an early period a custom among Christians of visiting Rome at the turn of every succeeding century, in the hope of obtaining great spiritual favors at the tomb of St. Peter, and perhaps also with the idea of atoning in some measure for the superstitious secular games which during the reign of Augustus the *Quindecimviri* (a college of priests) announced as having been given once in every century in memory of the foundation of the Eternal City, and which, after consulting the Sibylline books in their care, they prevailed upon the emperor to celebrate again. Mgr. Pompeo Sarnelli, Bishop of Bisceglie in 1692, treats of the Secular Year of the heathen Romans and the Jubilee of their Christian descendants together, as though one were in some respect the purified outgrowth of the other. He says: "But the Christians, to change profane into sacred things, were accustomed to go every hundredth year to visit the Vatican basilica and celebrate the memory of Christ, who was born for the redemption of the world; so that the

Holy Year was the sanctification of the profane centenary in the lapse of time; but in its spiritual benefits it perfected the effects of the Jubilee kept by the Jews every fiftieth year for temporal advantages" (*Lettere Ecclesiast.*, x. 50). Macri also, in his *Hiero-lexicon* (1768), says: "We believe that the popes, who have always endeavored (when the nature of the thing permitted) to alter the vain observances of the Gentiles into sacred ceremonies for the worship of God, in order to eradicate the superstitious Secular Year of the Romans, established our Holy Year of Jubilee and enriched it with indulgences." Of the connection between our Jubilee and that of the Jews Devoti (*Inst. Can.*, ii. p. 250, note) remarks that their fiftieth year "aliquo modo imago fuit Jubilæi, quem postea Romani Pontifices instituerunt—"was in some wise a figure of that Jubilee which, at a later period, the Roman pontiffs instituted."

Benedetto Gaetani of Anagni (Boniface VIII.) had been elected pope at Naples on Dec. 24, 1294, and was residing in Rome at the close of the century, when he heard towards Christmas that many pilgrims were approaching the city, who came, they said, to gain the indulgence which an ancient tradition taught could be obtained there every hundredth year, at the beginning of a new century. Although search was made in the pontifical archives for some record of a concession of special indulgence at such a period, none was found; but witnesses of established veracity assured the pope that they had heard of this indulgence, and that it was connected with a visit to the tomb of St. Peter.

Strocchi, in his *Storia del Giubbileo*, page 6, mentions among the venerable persons examined before the pope and cardinals one man 107 years old, and another—a noble Savoyard—over 100 years old, who both made de-

position that as children they had been brought to Rome by their parents, who had often reminded them not to omit the pilgrimage of the next century, if they should live so long. Two very aged Frenchmen from the diocese of Beauvais also deposed to having come to Rome on the strength of a like centennial tradition of which they had heard their fathers speak. The chronicler William Ventura of Asti (born in 1250) writes that at the beginning of the year 1300 an immense crowd of pilgrims, coming to Rome from the East and from the West, used to throng about the pope and cry out: "Give us thy blessing before we die; for we have learnt from our elders that all Christians who shall visit on the hundredth year the basilica where rest the bones of the apostles Peter and Paul can obtain absolution of their sins and the remission of any penance that might still be due for them" (apud Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.*, xi. 26). Boniface VIII. then called a consistory, and on the advice of the cardinals determined to issue a bull confirming the grant of indulgence, did such really exist; and in any case offering a plenary indulgence to all who, contrite, should confess their sins and visit at least once a day for thirty days—not necessarily consecutive, if Romans; if strangers, only for fifteen days in the same manner—the two basilicas of the holy apostles SS. Peter and Paul during the course of the year 1300. This interesting bull, which is usually cited by its opening words, *Antiquorum habet fida relatio*, and may be seen in any collection of canon law among the *Extravagantes Communes* (lib. v. De Pœn. et Rem., c. 1), is short and elegantly condensed—for which reason, perhaps, an old glossarist calls it "epistola satis grossè composita"—and, although written before the revival of Latin letters, compares favorably with the verbose compo-

sition of later documents. It was probably drawn up by Sylvester, the papal secretary, who is named as writer of the circular-letter sent in the pope's name to all bishops and Christian princes to acquaint them with the measure taken, and invite them to exhort the faithful of their dioceses and their loyal subjects to go on the pilgrimage Romeward. The pope published his bull himself on the 22d of February, 1300, being the feast of St. Peter at Antioch, by reading it aloud from a richly-draped *ambon* erected for the occasion before the high altar in St. Peter's, which had then a very different appearance from the domed and cross-shaped structure that we now admire, as lovers of architectural elegance; albeit as antiquarians we must regret the venerable building which was a *basilica* in form as well as in name. When Boniface had finished he descended, and went up in person to the altar to deposit upon it the bull of indulgence in homage to the Prince of the Apostles, whose successor he was, and not unworthily maintained himself to be. Then returning to his former place, while the cardinals stood with bended head round it and beneath him, he gave his solemn blessing to an immense number of pilgrims, who, filling the church and overflowing into the square in front, reverentially knelt to receive it. Truly, the hearts of the people were with that man, although the hands of princes were against him. A most interesting memorial of this very scene has been preserved to us through sack and fire for nearly six hundred years in the shape of a painting by the celebrated Giotto—a portrait, too, and not a fancy sketch—which is the only portion saved of the beautiful frescoes with which he ornamented the *loggia* built by Boniface at St. John Lateran. It represents the pope in the act of giving his benediction to the people. He stands between two cardinals (or, as some

critics think, two prelates), one of whom holds a document in his hand—evidently meant for the bull of Jubilee by an artist's license, to specify more distinctly the circumstance; for it was then actually on the altar—while the other looks down upon the crowd over the hanging cloth on which the Gaetani arms are emblazoned. This specimen of higher art of the fourteenth century was for a long time preserved in the cloister of St. John, until a representative of the Gaetani (now ducal) family had it carefully set up against one of the pilasters of the church, and protected with a glass covering, in 1786, where it may still be seen, although it is not often noticed according to its merits.

Our chief authorities for the details of this Jubilee are the pope's nephew, James Cardinal Stefaneschi; William Ventura, the Chronicler of Asti (generally quoted as *Chronicon Astense*); and the Florentine merchant and Guelph historian, John Villani, who died of the plague in 1348. All were eye-witnesses.

The cardinal wrote on the Jubilee in prose and verse. His work, *De centesimo, seu Jubilæo anno Liber*, is published in the *Biblioth. Max. Patrum*, tom. xxv. He is the earliest writer to use the word *jubilee*, which is not found in the pope's bull, but must have been common at the period, for others use it. A sententious specimen of the cardinal deacon's prose style may be interesting; it contains a good sentiment, and is not bad Latin, although the German Gregorovius, in his *History of Rome in the Middle Ages*, speaks of "die barbarische Schrift des Jacob Stefaneschi"—"that barbarous opuscule of James Stefaneschi": "Beatus populus qui scit Jubilationem; infelices vero qui torpore, vel temeritate, dum alterius sibi forsan ævum Jubilæi spondent, neglexerint" (cap. xv.)—"Blessed is the people that profiteth by this sea-

son of remission ; but unhappy are the slothful and presumptuous ones who, promising themselves another Jubilee, neglect it." His hexameters, however, are undoubtedly execrable; for instance:

"Discite, centeno detergi crimina Phœbo, (!)
Discite, si latebras scabrosi criminis ora
Depromunt, contrita sinu, dum circulus anni
Gyrat, perque dies quindenos exter, et Urbis
Incola tricenos delubra patentia Patrum
Ætherei Petri, Pauli quoque gentibus almi
Doctoris subeant, ubi congerit urna sepultos."

Cardinal James of the Title of St. George *in Velabro* was one of the most distinguished men of Rome ; "famous," as Tiraboschi says (*Letterat. Ital.*, v. 517), "not less for his birth than for his learning." His mother was an Orsini. He died in 1343.

As soon as the grant of this great indulgence was noised abroad an extraordinarily large number of pilgrims set out from all parts of Italy, from Provence and France, from Spain, Germany, Hungary, and even from England, although not very many from that country, which was then at war.* They came of every age, sex, and condition : children led by the hand or carried in the arms, the infirm borne in litters, the knightly and men of means on horseback, while not a few old people were seen, Anchises-like, supported on the shoulders of their sons. *The Chronicle of Parma* (quoted by Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*, v. p. 549) says that "every day and at all hours there was a sight as of a general army marching in and out by the Claudian Way," which brought the pilgrims into the

* The Crusades had made men familiar with travel, and a journey to Rome seemed easy to people who had dreamed of Antioch and Jerusalem and the farther East.

city after joining the Flaminian Way at the gate now represented by the Porta del Popolo; and the Chronicler of Asti has to use the words of the Apocalypse to describe the throngs that gathered about the roaring gates. "I went out one day," he says, and "I saw a great crowd which no man could number." The whole influx of pilgrims, including men and women, during the year, was computed by the Romans at over two millions; while Villani, who was a careful observer, writes that about thirty thousand people used to enter and leave the city every day, there being at no time less than two hundred thousand within the walls over and above the fixed population. But the pilgrimage was especially one of the poor to the tomb of the Fisherman; and all writers on it have remarked, in noticing the fervent enthusiasm of the common people, the cold reserve and absence of their royal masters. Only the Frenchman Charles Martel, titular King of Hungary, came; it is presumable more to obtain the pope's good-will in the dispute about the succession to the throne than from piety. The nearest approach to royalty after him was Charles of Valois, who came accompanied by his family and a courtly retinue of five hundred knights, and doubtless hoped to receive the crown of Sicily from Boniface, if he could expel the usurping Aragonese.

So many thousands of pilgrims, citizens and strangers, went day and night to St. Peter's that not a few in the beginning were maimed, and some even trampled to death, in the struggling crowd of goers and comers that met at the crossing of the Tiber over the old Ælian bridge leading to the Leonine city. To obviate such disasters in future, the wide bridge was divided lengthwise by a strong wooden railing, thus forming two passages, of which the advancing and returning pilgrims

took respectively the one on their right. The poet Dante, who is strongly supposed to have been in Rome for the Jubilee, although there is no proof either in the *Divine Comedy* or the *Vita Nuova* that he was, may have written as an eye-witness when he describes this very scene of the passing but not mingling streams of human beings in the well-known lines :

" Come i Roman, per l'esercito molto,
L'anno del giubbileo, su per lo ponte
Hanno a passar la gente modo tolto ;
Che dall' un lato tutti hanno la fronte
Verso'l castello, e vanno a Santo Pietro—
Dall' altra sponda vanno verso'l monte." *

—*Inferno*, xviii.

The castle here mentioned is, of course, Sant' Angelo ; and the hill is probably Monte Giordano, in the heart of the city, which, although, from the grading of the surrounding streets, now only a gentle rise graced by the Gabrielli palace, was a high and strongly-fortified position in the fourteenth century.† Among all the relics seen by the pilgrims in Rome, the Holy Face of our Lord, or Cloth of Veronica, which is preserved with so much veneration in St. Peter's, seems to have attracted the most attention. By order of the pope it was solemnly shown to the people on every Friday and on all the principal feasts throughout the year of Jubilee, The great Tuscan has also sung of this, which he possibly saw himself :

* " E'en thus the Romans, when the year returns
Of Jubilee, with better speed to rid
The thronging multitudes, their means devise
For such as pass the bridge ; that on one side
All front toward the castle, and approach
St. Peter's fane, on the other towards the mount."

—*Cary's Translation.*

† Others say that this "monte" must mean the Janiculum hill. See Barlow, *Study of Dante*, p. 126.

" Quale è colui che forse di Croazia
Viene a veder la Veronica nostra,
Che per l'antica fama non si sazia,
Ma dice nel pensier, fin che si mostra ;
Signor mio Gesù Cristo, Dio verace,
Or fu sì fatta la sembianza vostra ? " *

—*Paradiso*, xxxi.

A modern economist might wonder how a famine was to be averted, with such a sudden and numerous addition to the population of the city. The foresight of the energetic pope, whose family also was influential in the very garden of the Campagna, among those hardy laborers of whom Virgil sung, "Quos dives Anagnia pascit," had early in the year caused an immense supply of grain, oats, meat, fish, wine, and other sorts of provision for man and beast to be collected from every quarter and brought into the city, where it was stored and guarded against the coming of the pilgrims. The provisions were abundant and cheap. The Chronicler of Asti, it is true, complains of the dearness of the hay or fodder for his horse; but as he thought *tornesium unum grossum* (equal to six cents of our money) too high for his own daily lodging and his horse's stabling, without bait, we must think either that the means of living in Italy in those days were incredibly low or that Ventura was very parsimonious. It is the testimony of all writers on this Jubilee that, except an inundation of the Tiber,

* " Like a wight,
Who haply from Croatia wends to see
Our Veronica, and the while 'tis shown,
Hangs over it with never-sated gaze,
And, all that he hath heard revolving, saith
Unto himself in thought: 'And didst thou look
E'en thus, O Jesus, my true Lord and God ?
And was this semblance thine ? ' "

—*Cary's Translation.*

which threatened for a few days to cut off the train of supplies for the city, everything was propitious to the comfort and piety of the faithful. The roads through Italy leading to Rome were secure from robbers, at least to the pilgrims, to whom a general safe-conduct was given by the various little republics and principalities of the Peninsula; and if the Romans did grow rich off of the strangers, there was good-humor on both sides, and not the slightest collision. Indeed, the Romans (who perhaps gained the Jubilee before the great body of the pilgrims had arrived; at least we know that those out of the northern parts of Europe timed their departure from home so as to avoid the sweltering southern heat) seem to have shown some indifference to the spiritual favors offered; as Gregorovius—who, however, is anti-papal—with a quiet sarcasm says: "They left the pilgrims to pray at the altars, while they marched with flaunting banners against the neighboring city of Toscanella"; and Galletti, in his *Roman Mediæval Inscriptions* (tom. ii. p. 4), has published a curious one on this martial event, the original of which is now encased in one of the inside walls of the Palazzo dei Conservatori (this name may have been changed by the present usurpers) on the Capitoline hill, where it was set up under Clement X. in 1673, by Count Joseph Annibaldeschi, a descendant of "Richard of the Coliseum." It is most interesting for its synchronism with the first Jubilee,* and the curious insight it gives us into the mixed

* This coincidence is noted in the following inscription, which is the warrant for the one given in our text:

Mandato S. D̄ni Pontificis Bonifatii. viii. D̄ns Riccardus
De Anibale. et Gentil. De Filiis Ursi Alme Urbis Senatores
Illustres Hoc Opus Marmoreum Addiderunt Anno
D̄ni MCCC. Quo Rome Fuit Indulgentia Omnium Peccatorum.

—Forcella: *Iscrizioni Delle Chiese e D'Altri Edificii di Roma*, vol. i. p. 26—a complete and invaluable collection in thirteen vols. fol., 1869-79.

sort of fines imposed by the descendants of the conquerors of the world upon a subjugated people in the middle ages—bags of wheat, a bell, the city gates, eight lusty fellows to dance while their masters piped, and a gentle hint that they should be grateful that there was *no salt sown.* The original being in the abbreviated style of the fourteenth century, we have modernized it to make it more intelligible to the reader:

"Mille trecentenis Domini currentibus annis
Papa Bonifacius octavus in orbe vigebat
Tunc Aniballensis Riccardus de Coliseo
Nec non Gentilis Ursina prole creatus
Ambo senatores Romam cum pace regebant
Per quos jam pridem tu Tuscanella fuisti
Ob dirum damnata nefas, tibi dempta potestas
Sumendi regimen est, at data juribus Urbis
Frumenti rubla bis millia ferre coegit
Annua te Roma vel libras solvere mille
Cum Deus attulerit Romanis fertilitatem
Campanam populi, portas deducere Romam
Octo ludentes Romanis mittere ludis—
Majori pœna populi pietate remissa.
Sunt quoque communis servata palatia Romæ
Dummodo certe ruant turresque palatia muri
Si rursus furere tentent fortassis in Urbem
Vel jam prolata nolint decreta tenere
In æde reponatur sacra pro tempore guerræ
Tempore vel caro servanda pecunia prorsus."

The meaning of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh lines is that, since the Romans have land enough to give them their daily bread, but do not object to any amount of *quattrini* (coin), if the vanquished should prefer, they may pay once for all a thousand pounds in money, instead of the annual tribute of two thousand sacks of grain—with freight charges to destination; and the last lines signify that a sum is laid up in the chapel to be used to carry

on another war if the Tuscanellans should again machinate against the City—as Rome was proudly called—or refuse to fulfil the stipulations.

The pilgrims of the Jubilee generally made a small offering at the altars of the two basilicas, although no alms were required as a condition of gaining the indulgence; and it is particularly from a *naïve* passage of one of them in his valuable chronicle that Protestants and Voltaireans have taken occasion to deride the Jubilees as mere money-making affairs; and even the Catholic Muratori (*Antichità Italiane*, tom. iii. part ii. p. 156) carps at the inimitable description of so Romanesque a scene as that of two chatting clerics raking in the oblations of the *forestieri;* but Cenni, the annotator of this great work of the Modenese historian in the Roman edition of 1755, which we use, aptly remarks here that if writers will look only at the bad side of the many and almost innumerable events that have occurred in this low world of ours, and illogically conclude from a particular to the universal, they will discover that art of putting things whereby what has generally been considered good and laudable will appear thereafter worthy only of censure. The Chronicler of Asti, certainly with no great thought of what people would say five hundred years after he was mouldering in his grave, simply writes of the pilgrims' donations: "Papa innumerabilem pecuniam ab eisdem recepit, quia die ac nocte duo clerici stabant ad altare sancti Petri, tenentes in eorum manibus rastellos rastellantes pecuniam infinitam."

Although we believe that the honest Chronicler of Asti deserves credit for taking notes at the Jubilee, yet this very passage, read in connection with the other one about the dearness of his living, shows us that he was one of those pious but penurious souls who, if he had

lived in our day and a gentleman called on him for a subscription, would beg to be allowed to wait until the list got down a little lower. The Protestant Gregorovius has shown that these exaggerated offerings "were for the most part only small coin, the gift of common pilgrims"; while the Catholic Von Reumont (*Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, vol. ii. p. 650) has calculated that this "infinite amount of money" was only after all equal to about two hundred and forty thousand Prussian thalers, which would make no more than one hundred and seventy-five thousand, two hundred dollars. When the pope knew how generous were the offerings of the faithful, he ordered the entire sum to be expended on the two basilicas, in buying property to support the chapter of the one and the monastery attached to the other, and in those thousand and more expenses which only those who have lived in Rome can understand to be necessary to support the majesty of divine worship within such magnificent edifices. Surely it was better, in any case, that the money of the pilgrims should go for the glory of the saints and the embellishment of God's temples than be exacted at home by cruel barons and ruthless princes to carry on their petty wars or strengthen their castles.

Mr. Hemans (no friend to *our* Rome), in his *Mediæval Christianity and Sacred Art* (vol. i. p. 474), says, after mentioning these "heaps of coins": "If much of this went into the papal treasury it is manifest that the expenditure from that source for the charities exercised throughout this holy season must also have been great." This is a lame statement; because, although on the one hand the large subventions of the pope to the poor pilgrims are certain, on the other there is no proof whatever that *any* alms they gave went into his "treasury." The pope, indeed, having at heart the comfort of the

strangers and the beauty of the city, put up many new buildings and made other improvements, such as the beautiful Gothic *loggia* of St. John of Lateran, which the greatest painter of the age was commissioned to decorate with frescoes (Papencordt, *Rom im Mittelalter*, p. 336). It is perhaps from a traditionary knowledge of these architectural propensities of the pope during the Jubilee year, and of his endowments to the basilicas, that so many people have quite erroneously believed the sombre but picturesque old farm-buildings of Castel Giubileo, which crown the green and lonely hill where more than two thousand years ago the Arx of Fidenæ stood a rival to the Capitol of Rome, to be a memorial of, and to get its designation from, this Jubilee of A.D. 1300. Even Sir Wm. Gell (*Top. of Rome*, p. 552) and Davies (*Pilgrimage of the Tiber*, p. 147) repeat the old story. But the more careful Nibby (*Dintorni di Roma*, vol. ii. p. 58) has demonstrated, with the aid of a document in the archives of the Vatican basilica, that the name of this place between the Via Salaria and the Tiber, five miles from Rome, is derived from that of a Roman family which acquired the site (previously called Monte Sant' Angelo) and built the castle in the fourteenth century; and that it did not come into the possession of the chapter of St. Peter until the 16th of December, 1458, when it was bought for the sum of three thousand golden ducats. So much for an instance of jumping at conclusions from a mere similarity of name, which is so common a fault of antiquaries.

The institution of the Jubilee or Holy Year has been a standing subject for anti-Catholic invective. Of English writers Gibbon (*Decline and Fall*, vol. viii. p. 217) is the most severe; but his insults and objections are not original, being derived altogether from the work of a

Protestant minister named Pierre Chais, who published at the Hague in 1751 *Lettres historiques et dogmatiques sur les jubilés et les indulgences*, in 3 vols. 8vo, which were ably answered by Bergier (*Dict. Théol.*, art. *Jubilé*). The best work ever published on the Jubilees is by the learned Francesco Antonio Zaccaria, who was at one time Professor of Church History in the Accademia Ecclesiastica at Rome: *Trattato dell' Anno Santo Storico, ceremoniale morale e polemico*, Roma, 1824.

# THE CHARITIES OF ROME.

"Christian charity is friendship expanded like the face of the sun when it mounts above the eastern hills."—*Jeremy Taylor.*

THE present sacrilegious invaders of Rome have done much to change the religious aspect of the city, and obliterate every trace of the influence of the popes upon the charities once so liberally thrown open to the people of every clime and color. In the true spirit of modern "progress" philanthropy has usurped the place of charity, and the state, taking possession of institutions founded and hitherto directed in many points by the church, banishes her as far from them as possible. It may be interesting to pass in review some of those magnificent charities which sprang up and flourished so long under pontifical protection, but which have lately either been violently suppressed or are fast disappearing under the difficulties of the political situation. We will write of these charities as they existed in 1869, which was the last year during the whole of which the papal government had control of them. In that year an English Protestant writer, long resident in Rome, was obliged by the clearness of facts to tell his readers that "few cities in Europe are so distinguished for their institutions of public charity as Rome, and in none are the hospitals more magnificently lodged or endowed with more princely liberality. The annual endowments of these establishments are no less than 258,390 scudi, derived from lands and houses, from grants, and from the papal treasury."

When St. Peter entered Rome for the first time, and

looked upon the miserable condition of those to whom the favors of fortune were denied, he recalled to mind the words addressed to his forefathers about to enter into the promised land: "There shall be no poor nor beggar among you: that the Lord thy God may bless thee in the land which he giveth thee to possess" (Deut. xv. 4), and saw before him one of the greatest obstacles to be overcome—involving a change of what was second nature to the Romans (hardness of heart), they being, as St. Paul wrote (Rom. i. 31), "without affection, without mercy"—but knowing that it was also said in the same holy text, "Poor will not be wanting in the land; therefore I command thee to open thy hand to thy needy and poor brother," and having heard the blessed Lord Jesus say of the new dispensation, "The poor ye have always with you," he understood that God's object was not to forbid mendicity, but to leave no room for it. Therefore to the rich and powerful, when brought by grace to his apostolic feet, he enjoined: "Deal thy bread to the hungry, and bring the needy and the harborless into thy house" (Isaias lviii. 7). The faith of the Roman Christians was illustrious throughout the world, and so was their charity. From the days of St. Peter it had been customary to take up collections on Sundays in all the congregations of the city for the relief of the confessors condemned to labor in the public mines and other works, or languishing in prison, or wandering in exile; and Eusebius has preserved in his *Ecclesiastical History* (lib. iv. cap. 23) the testimony of Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth (161–192), in favor of the long-established charitable institutions of the Romans, and in praise, at the same time, of the piety of his contemporary, Pope St. Soter, who not only retained these customs of his people, but surpassed them in sending money to the Christians of other parts

of the world, and in receiving, as though they were his own children, all faithful pilgrims to Rome. In the year 236 Pope St. Fabian gave charge of the poor of Rome to seven deacons, each of whom superintended two of the fourteen civil divisions or regions, whence they were called regionary deacons. A memorial of their occupation still remains in the dalmatic, or deacon's vestment, the wide sleeves of which served originally for pockets; and Pope Innocent III., in his treatise on the Mass, remarks that this kind of dress is attributed to deacons because, in the first institution of their order, the distribution of alms was assigned to them. A council of the fourth century, held under Pope Sylvester, decreed that one-fourth part of the church revenues should be set apart for the poor. St. Jerome attests in one of his letters that a noble matron named Fabiola erected a hospital in the year 400; and about the same time St. Gallicanus, a man of consular dignity, who had also been honored with a triumph, becoming a Christian, founded a similar institution at the mouth of the Tiber for the accommodation of pilgrims and of the sick. He waited upon them in person. In 1869 Rome had a population of about 220,000 inhabitants, and, although the climate is not unhealthy, it is hardly one of the most salubrious in the world. The low land upon which a great part of the modern city is built; the turbid Tiber, which, passing through it in a winding course, is apt to overflow its banks; the open position of the city, which is exposed, according to the season, either to the sultry African wind or to the piercing blasts from the neighboring mountains; and the large floating population, which is everywhere a likely subject of disease, combine to make it desirable that Rome should be well provided with institutions of succor and relief. While under papal rule

she was not wanting in this respect, but was even abundantly and excellently supplied.

Man, being composed of spirit and matter, having consequently a soul and a body to look after, has wants of two kinds, corresponding to the twofold claims of his nature. We should therefore divide the charities man is capable of receiving into two classes. He received them in Rome with a generous hand. The first class comprehended relief to the indigent, the sick, the destitute, the insane, the convalescent; possessed hospitals and asylums, brought aid into private families, opened nocturnal retreats, offered work to the honest needy, gave marriage portions to the nubile, shielded widows, protected orphans, advanced money on the easiest terms. These were charities of subsistence. The second class embraced poor-schools and other establishments for gratuitous education in trades, arts, and sciences, conservatories for the exposed, hospices for the reformed, and made provision for the legal defence of the weak. These were called charities of education.

There were two institutions in Rome that assisted the poor before they had fallen into misery or become destitute. These were the *Monte di Pietà* and the savings-bank. The first was a bank of loan and deposit. The idea of such an institution was suggested by a pious and shrewd Franciscan, named Barnabas of Terni, who was painfully struck, during a mission he was giving in Perugia in the year 1462, by the enormous usury (a crime then practised almost exclusively by Jews) which the poor were forced to pay for any advance of money they might need. This practical friar prevailed upon several wealthy persons to mass sums of money into one fund, out of which to lend to the poor at a reasonable (and in some cases merely nominal) rate of interest. Hence the

distinctive name of Monte di Pietà, which means literally mountain of mercy. The Roman *Monte* was the third institution of the sort that was opened. This was in the year 1539. It was to lend money up to a certain amount without taking interest; above this amount for a very small interest. It was to take articles on pawn, and give the appraised value, less one-third. Over $100,000 used, under the papal government, to be annually loaned out on pawns or otherwise without one cent of interest. This establishment occupied a superb public building, and was under the control of the Minister of Finance. Honest visitors were freely admitted into every part of it; and we have heard many (even hard-fisted) English and Americans express themselves agreeably surprised, if not satisfied, with this reasonable and conscientious manner of saving the poor from the gripe of usurers and pawnbrokers, while imposing enough restraint to discourage improvidence. No hope was held out of indiscriminate relief. Looking at the *Monte* in an antiquarian light, it was a perfect museum of modern life, and to go through it was as good as visiting a hundred consolidated old curiosity-shops. Its administration employed, including a detachment of the Swiss Guard, one hundred persons. The capital, which consisted of every kind of property that at various periods and from many benefactors had come to it, was about three million dollars. The most orthodox political economists acknowledge that institutions of this sort were devised only as a lesser evil; and consequently the Roman government was glad to see the business of the *Monte* fall away considerably after the opening of the savings-bank in 1836. This was a charitable institution, because it was governed gratuitously by an administration of eleven honest and intelligent men, among whom were some of the first nobility, who thus

gave a portion of their time and talents to the poor. The cashier, Prince Borghese, presented, besides his services, a part of his magnificent palace to be turned into offices for the business transactions of the bank.

The Apostolic Almonry in the Vatican next claimed our attention in the quiet days of the Pope. From the earliest period the vicars of Christ have made it a practice to visit in person the poor, and distribute alms with their own hands, in love and imitation of Him who "went about doing good." As the wealth of the church in Rome increased it was found necessary for the better ordering of things to have some administrative assistance in the distribution of these private charities. St. Conon I., in the seventh century, employed the archpriest Paschal to dispense the bounty of the privy purse; and in the year 1271 Blessed Gregory X. created the perpetual office of grand almoner in the papal court. This officer is always an archbishop *in partibus*, and lives under the same roof as the Holy Father, in order to be ready at all times to receive his commands.* Besides the many standing largitions issued from the Grand Almonry, there were occasional ones, such as the largess of $300 which was distributed in the great courtyard of Belvidere on each anniversary of the Pope's coronation. This sum was doubled the first year. On each of the following civil or religious festivals, Christmas, Easter, and Coronation day, $165 were divided among a certain number of the best-behaved prisoners confined in Rome. About $650 a month were paid out either at the word of the sovereign or on his order; while a sum of $2,000 was annually divided among one hundred poor families. Besides this, the Grand Almonry supported a number of

* With the successive grand almoners, Hohenlohe, De Merode, and Sanminiatelli, we have had the honor of being personally acquainted.

free schools, dispensed food and medicines, and performed many acts of more secret charity. A memorial of the earlier personal distribution of alms by the popes is retained in the *Succinctorium*, which they wear in solemn pontificals. It is an ornament of silk of the color of the feast, fringed with gold, and suspended down the left side from the girdle. On Good Friday the succinctory is not worn, in execration of the evil use Judas Iscariot made of the purse when he betrayed our Lord for thirty pieces of silver.

Another of the great charities of Rome was the Commission of Subsidies established by Pope Leo XII., in 1826, to give assistance and employment to poor but honest people willing to help themselves if they could find the opportunity. The whole tendency of Roman charities under the popes was to frown upon sloth and vagrancy, and encourage self-reliance and mutual support; for St. Paul wrote to the Thessalonians (2 iii. 10): "If any man will not work, neither let him eat." The commission received a yearly subsidy from government of $88,500. In each of the fourteen rioni or wards of the city a physician, surgeon, pharmacist, and midwife rendered gratuitous services under its control. It was by the judicious employment of such men, thrown on the hands of the commission, that within the last thirty years so much has been done in making excavations in and about Rome in search of antiquities and in studying its ancient topography. We have sometimes heard English and American sight-seers make brutal remarks about "those dirty, lazy Romans," as they would stop a moment to look at some party of these poor fellows taking their work so easily in the Forum, on the Palatine, or elsewhere; but, we should rather applaud the paternal government that refrained from calling poverty a crime or

driving the poor and weak to their work like galley-slaves, and, while contributing a generous support, gave them enough to do to save their self-respect.

No such thing as work-houses, in the English sense, have ever been maintained where Catholic influences have predominated ; and for this we may thank God.

Another category of Roman charities comprised the Confraternities. These associations for purposes of piety and mutual help convey in their name the idea of brotherliness and union. There were no fewer than ninety-one confraternities in Rome under the popes. The oldest and most famous of these was the Annunciation, which was founded in 1460 by the Dominican Cardinal John Torquemada, in Santa Maria-in-Minerva, the head church of his order in Rome.* Its particular object was to give portions to poor but virtuous young females, that they might either marry or enter a religious house if they had a vocation. On the 25th of March, Lady-day, the pope, cardinals, and prelates, with the rest of the court, used to assist at Mass in that church, and preside at the distribution of dowers which followed immediately. The girls were always dressed in plain white ; such as had signified their choice of the heavenly Spouse being distinguished by a wreath on the head. On this occasion the pontiff gave one hundred golden scudi, and each cardinal present gave one scudo, to the funds of the confraternity. There were fourteen other confraternities that had the same object, although carried out with less solemnity. In this way $42,000 used to be expended annually.

The Confraternity of the Twelve Apostles made it a special point to find out and relieve in a delicate manner

* A new interest attaches to this church, in the eyes of American Catholics, since it has been made the Title of the Cardinal Archbishop of New York.

those who, having known better days, were fallen into reduced circumstances. The Confraternity of Prayer and Death buried the dead; and if an accident in or about Rome was reported in which life was lost, a party was detailed to go and bring the body in decently for Christian burial. Sometimes a poor herdsman on the Campagna had been gored by an ox, or some fellow had been swept away and drowned in the Tiber, or perhaps a reaper been prostrated by the heat; at whatever hour of the day or night, and at all seasons, a band of this confraternity went out, and returned carrying the unfortunate person on a stretcher upon their shoulders. It must be remarked in this connection that the members of the confraternity always observed the laws concerning deaths of this kind, not interfering with, but merely placing themselves at the disposal of, the officers of justice, to give a body burial at their own expense and in consecrated ground. The Confraternity of Pity for Prisoners was founded in 1575 by Father John Tallier, a French Jesuit. It provided religious instruction for prisoners, distributed objects of piety among them, looked after their families if destitute, and assisted them to pay their debts and fines, if they had any. The Confraternity of St. John Baptist was composed exclusively of Florentines and the descendants of Florentines. Its object was to comfort and assist to the last, criminals condemned to death. As decapitation was the mode of judicial punishment, St. John Baptist, who was slain by Herod, was their patron, and his head on a charger the arms of the confraternity. Although there were so many confraternities and other pious associations in Rome, connected by their object with institutions of every kind, sanitary, corrective, etc., they were very careful never to interfere with the regulations of such establishments;

and consequently, by minding their own business, they were not in the way of the officials, but, on the contrary, were looked upon as valuable assistants. The Society of St. Vincent of Paul was started in Rome in 1842 by the late venerable Father de Ravignan, S.J. It counted twenty-eight conferences and one thousand active members, clergy and laymen, titled folks and trades-people all working harmoniously together. About $2,100 was annually dispensed by the society. The Congregation of Ladies was founded in 1853 by Monsignor—since Cardinal—Borromeo to give work, especially needle-work, to young women out of employment. A great many ecclesiastical vestments were thus made under the direction of the ladies, and either sent as presents to poor missions, or sold, for what they would bring, at the annual fair held for the purpose of disposing of them.

There were seven public hospitals in Rome, under the immediate direction of a general board of administration composed of twelve members, of whom three belonged to the clergy and the rest to the laity. The oldest, largest, and best-appointed institution of this kind was Santo Spirito, situated in the Leonine quarter of the city, on the border of the Tiber. Its site has been occupied by a charitable institution ever since A.D. 728; the earliest building having been founded there for his countrymen by Ina, King of Wessex. For this reason the whole pile of buildings is called Santo Spirito *in Saxia* —*i.e.*, in the quarter of the (West) Saxons. There are three distinct establishments under the administration of Santo Spirito—viz., the hospital itself, the Foundling Hospital, and the Lunatic Asylum. The first was founded by Pope Innocent III. in 1198, the Saxons having abandoned this locality for a more central position—the present St. Thomas-of-the-English. It has received since

then many additions, until it has assumed the enormous proportions that we now admire. Every improvement was made to keep pace with the advance of hygienic knowledge. This hospital was for men only. It had 1,616 beds and an annual average of 14,000 patients. The wards were twelve in number, in which the cleanliness was refreshing, the ventilation excellent, and the water-supply pure and abundant. The principal parts of the exterior, and some of the interior parts of the building, were by distinguished architects ; while some of the wards had their ceilings and upper walls painted in fresco with scenes from Sacred Scripture, such as the sufferings of Job and the miraculous cures made by our Lord. Not only the eye but the ear too of the poor patients was pleased ; for three times a week they were entertained with organ music from a lofty choir erected at one end of the largest wards. The spiritual care of the sick was perfect ; it was impossible for any one to die without the rites of the church. In the centre of every ward there was a fixed altar, upon which Mass was said daily. The Confraternity of Santo Spirito, composed of clergy and laymen, assisted the regular ministers of religion in attendance day and night. These volunteers brought flowers to the patients, read to them, prepared them for confession and other sacraments, and disposed them to die a good death, besides performing for them the most menial services.

We remember to have read a letter addressed to the New York *Post* by an eminent Protestant clergyman of New York, in which, after describing this institution (then under papal rule), he said that he could not speak too highly of the excellent attendance the patients received from the kind-hearted religious who were stationed there, and added that if ever he had to come to

a hospital he hoped it would be Santo Spirito. The Foundling Hospital was opened by Pope Innocent III.; and the Lunatic Asylum, for both sexes, was founded in 1548 by three Spaniards, a priest and two laymen. It was called the House of Our Lady of Mercy. A fine garden on the Janiculum Hill was attached to it for the recreation of the patients. We do not know how it is conducted since it has changed hands, but formerly it was managed on the system of kindness towards even the fiercest madmen, using only so much restraint as was positively necessary. It was then under the care of religious. The Hospital of the Santissimo Salvatore, near St. John of Lateran, was founded in 1236 by a Cardinal Colonna. It was for women only. Another Cardinal Colonna founded the Hospital of St. James, for incurables, in 1339. Our Lady of Consolation was a fine hospital near the Forum for the maimed and wounded; while San Gallicano, on the other side of the river, was for fevers and skin-diseases. San Rocco was a small lying-in hospital, with accommodation for 26 women. It was founded at the beginning of the seventeenth century by a Cardinal Salviati. The most delicate precautions were always used there to save any sense of honor that might still cling to a victim of frailty. Guilt could at least blush unnoticed. The Santissima Trinità was founded by St. Philip Neri for convalescents of both sexes and for poor pilgrims. It could lodge 488 patients, had beds for 500 pilgrims, and table-room for 900. In the great refectory of this building the members of the confraternity came on every Holy Thursday evening to wash the feet of the pilgrims and wait on them at table. Of course the two sexes were in different parts of the building, and each was attended by its own. We remember the delightful ardor with which the late Cardinal Barnabò on

such occasions would turn up his sleeves, twitch his apron, and, going down on his knees, give some poor man's feet a better washing than they had had before in a year. There was much raising of soap-suds in that wooden tub, and a real, earnest kiss on one bare foot when the washing was over. The Hospital of St. John Calabyta was so called from a Spaniard, the founder of the Brothers of Charity (commonly called the *Benfratelli*), who attended it. It was opened in 1581, on the island of the Tiber; and by a coincidence then perhaps unknown, but since fully brought to light by the discovery of votive tablets recording the name of the patient, the disease, and the manner in which the cure had been effected, it stood on the very site of an asylum which the priests of Esculapius kept near their god's temple two thousand years ago. The Hospital of Santa Galla was founded in 1650 by the princely Odescalchi family. It gave a night asylum to homeless men. There were 224 beds, distributed through nine dormitories. Another night refuge, called St. Aloysius, was founded about the year 1730 by Father Galluzi, a Florentine Jesuit. It is for women. We can get some idea of the great charity such refuges are in a large city when we know that during the year ending December, 1869, no less than 135,000 persons sought a resting-place at night in the station-houses of New York. Besides these public hospitals, almost every Catholic country had a private national one. One of the picturesque and not least of the Roman charities used to be the daily distribution of food at the gates of monasteries, convents, and nunneries, the portals of palaces, and the doors of seminaries, colleges, and boarding-schools.

With all this liberality, there was still some room for manual alms. There used to be beggars in Rome;

assassins have taken their place. Under the papal government a limit was put to beggary, and we have never seen the *sturdy* beggar who figures so maliciously in some Protestant books about Rome. Beggary may become an evil; it is not a crime. We confess to liking beggars, if they are not too numerous and importunate, and join with Charles Lamb in his "Complaint on the Decay of Beggars in the Metropolis" (*Essays of Elia*). Few scenes have seemed to us more picturesque and Christian than the double row of beggars, with their sores and crippled limbs, their sticks and battered hats and outstretched hands, imploring *per l'amore di Dio*, as we pass between them to the church or cemetery or other holy place on feast-day afternoons in Rome. Some of the appeals from these poor people are very touching and full of faith, such as *Iddio vi paghi la carità*—May God reward your charity; and *La Madonna ti possa accompagnare*—May Our Lady accompany you.

The Hospice of San Michele was founded in 1686 by a Cardinal Odescalchi. In this asylum nearly 800 persons used to be received. They were divided into four classes—old men, old women, boys, and girls. The institution had an annual endowment of $52,000; but some years ago the aged of both sexes were removed elsewhere, and their part of the building was converted into a house of correction for women and juvenile offenders. The hospice, in its strict sense, now consists of a House of Industry for children of both sexes, and a gratuitous school of the industrial and fine arts. The carping author of Murray's *Hand-book* (1869), although he acknowledges that this school of arts has produced some eminent men, says that "the education of the boys might be turned, perhaps, to more practically useful objects"! As if, forsooth, it were a lesser charity, in the great home of

the arts that Rome is, to help a poor lad of talent to become an architect, for instance, than to make him a tailor! The orphan asylum of Saint Mary of the Angels was near the Baths of Diocletian. The boys numbered 450, under the care of male religious, and the girls 500, under that of female religious. The institution received annually $38,000 from the Commission of Subsidies. In the same quarter of the city is the Deaf and Dumb Asylum. It was opened in 1794 by Father Silvestri, who had been sent to Paris by Pope Pius VI. to receive instruction from the celebrated Abbé de l'Epée in the art of teaching this class of unfortunates. Visitors to the house are made welcome, and are often invited to test the knowledge of the pupils by asking them questions on the blackboard. The first time we called there was in 1862, and, having asked one of the boys, taken at hazard, who was the first President of the United States, we were a little surprised (having thought to puzzle him) to have the correct answer at once. The House of Converts was an establishment where persons who wished to become Catholics were received for a time and instructed in the faith. It was founded in 1600 by a priest of the Oratory. Other interesting hospices were the Widows' Home and the House for Aged Priests, where the veterans of the Roman clergy could end their days in honorable comfort. A peculiar class of Roman charities were the Conservatories. They were twenty-three in number. Some of them were for penance, others for change of life, and others again to shield unprotected virtue. The Infant Asylum was a flourishing institution directed by female religious. Even fashion was made to do something for it, since a noble lady years ago suggested that the members of good society in Rome should dispense with their mutual New Year visits on condition of giving

three pauls (a small sum of money) to the asylum, and having their names published in the official journal.

The Society for the Propagation of the Faith was established at Rome in 1834. No city of the size and population of Rome was better supplied with free schools of every description. The night-schools were first opened in 1819. In connection with studies we should mention the liberal presents of books, vestments, and liturgical articles made to young missionaries by the Propaganda, and the books on learned subjects, which, being printed at government expense, were sold at a reduced price to students of every nation on showing a certificate from one of their professors.

It is written (Matthew iv. 4), "Man liveth not by bread alone"; and consequently Rome multiplied those pious houses of retreat in which the soul could rest for a time from the cares of life. There were five such establishments in the city. Another great Roman charity was the missions preached by the Jesuits and Franciscans in and around the city, thus bringing the truths of the Gospel constantly before the people. We have given but a brief sketch of our subject. It has been treated in a complete manner by the late Cardinal Morichini in a new and revised edition of his interesting work entitled *Degl' Istituti di Pubblica Carità ed istruzione primaria e delle prigioni in Roma.*

# THE APOSTOLIC MISSION TO CHILI.

## A CHAPTER IN THE LIFE OF PIUS IX.

BEFORE entertaining ourselves with an account of the voyage and journeys, from Genoa to Buenos Ayres and across the continent to Valparaiso, of the first pope who has ever been to America, we shall enter into a few details to show the occasion of the apostolic mission which he accompanied in an official capacity.

The great reverses of Spain at the beginning of the present century, and the consequent weakening of the bonds that united her American colonies to their mother-country, besides some other causes silently working since the emancipation of the thirteen British provinces from England, finally led to a Declaration of Independence, which was established after several years of war. But the king to whose government these New-World possessions had been subject for nearly three hundred years refused to recognize the accomplished fact or to enter into diplomatic relations with rebels against his authority.*

The Congress of Verona, in 1822, took some notice of these revolted countries; but the European powers did

* Among the Spanish subjects in the colonies, there was a class corresponding to the Loyalists of the American Revolution. One of these was Don Miguel Moreno, a magistrate belonging to a most respectable colonial family, and the honored father of His Eminence the present Archbishop of Toledo, who was born in Guatemala on November 24, 1817, and is, therefore, in a strict sense of the word, the first American who has been made a cardinal.

not all agree to receive them into the family of nations by a formal recognition, and it is well known that the views expressed in that assembly gave rise on the part of the President of the United States to a declaration of policy which has been called the Monroe Doctrine.* The Holy See, having sublimer interests to deal with, could not act as indifferently in this matter as other governments, which looked only to temporal advantage and wrangled over old systems of public policy regardless of recent events. By the quixotic obstinacy of Spain the South American republics suffered much inconvenience, particularly in point of religion, because Rome could not provide for their spiritual wants without risking an open rupture with his Catholic Majesty—such were royal pretensions of restricting the exercise of papal rights, even in merely nominal dominions.†

During the latter part of Pius VII.'s pontificate the government of Chili sent one of its distinguished citizens, the Archdeacon Don José Cienfuegos, envoy to Rome, with instructions to try to establish direct ecclesiastical relations between the Holy See and Santiago, the capital of his country. He arrived there on August 22, 1822, and was well received, but only in his spiritual

* Message of December 2, 1823.

† It is curious to contrast the tedious trials that Rome endured before being able to appoint bishops to independent Spanish America, with her ease in establishing the hierarchy in the United States. Yet the Spaniards and Loyalists, who sometimes forgot that political differences should never interfere with religious unity, might have found a precedent in the case of their northern brethren. In a sketch of the church in the United States, written by Bishop Carroll in 1790, it is said that "during the whole war there was not the least communication between the Catholics of America and their bishop, who was the vicar-apostolic of the London district. To his spiritual jurisdiction were subject the United States; but whether he would hold no correspondence with a country which he, perhaps, considered in a state of rebellion, or whether a natural indolence and irresolution restrained him, the fact is he held no kind of intercourse with priest or layman in this part of his charge" (B. U. Campbell, "Memoirs, etc., of the Most Rev. John Carroll," in the *U. S. Catholic Magazine*, 1845).

capacity. The pope would not recognize him as a political agent. On the 7th of September following the Holy Father addressed a brief to the Bishop of Merida de Maracaybo, in which he expressed himself solicitous for the spiritual necessities of his children in those far-distant parts of America, and intimated his ardent desire to relieve them. A little later he formed a special congregation of six cardinals, presided over by Della Genga, who became his successor as Leo XII.; and after mature deliberation on the religious affairs in the ex-viceroyalties of Spain, it was determined to send a mission to Chili, that country being chosen for the honor as having made the first advances. This measure so displeased the Spanish government that the nuncio Monsignor—afterwards Cardinal—Giustiniani was dismissed; and although he was soon after permitted to return to Spain, the wound inflicted upon him left its sting behind, for, coming very near to the number of votes requisite to election in the conclave after Pius VIII.'s death, the court of Madrid barred his fortune by the exercise of that odious privilege called the *Esclusiva;* the ground of his exclusion from the Papacy being supposed at Rome to have been his participation in the appointment of bishops to South America. The right (?) of veto expires with its exercise once in each conclave; and Cardinal Cappellari (Gregory XVI.), who, as we shall see, had the most to do with these episcopal nominations, was elected pope.

The choice of a vicar-apostolic for the Chilian mission fell upon Prof. Ostini (later nuncio to Brazil and a cardinal), who, after having accepted the position, saw fit suddenly to decline it for reasons best known to himself. In his stead Don Giovanni Muzi, then attached to the nunciature at Vienna, was selected, and, having been recalled to Rome, was consecrated Archbishop of Philippi

*in partibus infidelium*,* with orders to proceed immediately to Santiago. The mission, of which we shall speak more particularly hereafter, embarked on October 4, 1823, and reached Rome on its return the 7th of July 1825.

Leo XII. succeeded Pius VII. In 1824 the republic of Colombia sent Don Ignacio Texada to Rome with an application for bishops and apostolic vicars in that immense region; but the Spanish ambassador, Chevalier Vargas, a haughty diplomate, brimful of *Españolismo*, went to the pope and demanded his dismissal. This was refused. The envoy had come for spiritual interests, not on political grounds; and the Spaniard could not convince Leo that the rebel's argument—by which he asked no more than that species of indirect recognition granted by the Holy See, under Innocent X. and Alexander VII., to the house of Braganza when it forced Portugal from under Spanish rule—was not a good one and founded on precedent. Nevertheless, Texada returned to Bologna, and finally withdrew altogether from the Papal States. He had some fine qualities, but lacked discretion in speech, which was a fault very injurious to his position. Harpocrates is still the great god of diplomacy the world over. This state of things was embarrassing. Spain had refused to recognize the independence of her many provinces in the New World, although she had ceased practically even to disturb them. The king, who was somewhat of a *Marquis de Carabas*, claimed all his old rights over them, and, among them, that of episcopal presentation. Cardinal Wiseman, who was an attentive observer of these times, remarks—very properly, we think—that even if such a power could be still

* He was translated by Leo XII. in 1825 to the residential see of Città di Castello.

called legal, "it would have been quite unreasonable to expect that the free republics would acknowledge the jurisdiction of the country which declared itself at war with them." This was a clear case in which allegiance should follow protection. After a prudent delay, Leo thought it his duty to represent energetically to the Spanish government the inconvenience he suffered from the existing state of affairs, and the impossibility of his viewing with indifference a condition in which the faithful, long deprived of pastors, were urgently asking for bishops for the vacant sees. Yet His Holiness had taken no decisive step, but called upon his majesty either to reduce his transatlantic subjects to obedience or to leave him free to provide as best he could for the necessities of the church. In the consistory of May 21, 1827, the pope, after protesting that he could not any longer in conscience delay his duty to Spanish America, proceeded to nominate bishops for more than six dioceses in those parts. Madrid was, of course, displeased, although it was twelve years since the government had lost even the shadow of authority there, and at first refused to receive the new nuncio, Tiberi.* At this juncture Pedro Gomez de Labrador was sent from Spain expressly to defeat the measure; but although "acknowledged by all parties, and especially by the diplomatic body in Rome, to be one of the most able and accomplished statesmen in Europe, yet he could not carry his point" against the quiet and monk-like Cardinal Cappellari, who was deputed by the pope to meet him. In the allocution pro-

* Cardinal Wiseman has made a slip in saying (*Last Four Popes*, p. 308) that the refusal to receive Mgr. Tiberi gave rise to "a little episode in the life of the present pontiff." Tiberi went as nuncio to Madrid in 1827, consequently long after Canon Mastai had returned from Chili. It was in the case of the previous nuncio, Giustiniani, that a "passing coolness" occasioned the apostolic mission to South America.

nounced by Labrador before the Sacred College, assembled in conclave to elect a successor to Leo, he made an allusion to the ever-recurring subject of the revolted Americans; but although done with tact, it grated on the ears of many as too persistently and, under the circumstances, unreasonably put forward.

The discussion between the courts of Rome and Madrid was not renewed during the brief pontificate of Pius VIII.; but in the encyclical letter announcing his election there is a delicate reference to the affair which, although not expressly named, will be perceived by those who are acquainted with the questions of that day. Comte de Maistre says somewhere that if a parish be left without a priest for thirty years, the people will worship—the pigs; and although the absence of a bishop from his diocese for such a length of time might not induce a similar result, yet the faithful would drop, perhaps, into a Presbyterian form of church government and be lost. The veteran statesman Cardinal Consalvi evidently thought so, as we see by the fourth point, which treats of Spanish America, in the conference that he was invited to hold with Leo XII. on the most important interests of the Holy See.* When, therefore, Gregory XVI.—who, as Cardinal Cappellari, had not been a stranger to the long dispute—became pope, he ended the matter promptly and for ever. In his first consistory, held in February, 1831, he filled a number of vacant sees and erected new ones where required in South America. On the 31st of August following he published the apostolic constitution "Solicitudo Ecclesiarum," in which he explained the reasons why the Holy See, in

* Artand (*Vie de Léon XII.*) indicates in a note to p. 129, vol. i., the sources whence he obtained these views of the late Prime Minister, which are given in full.

order to be able to govern the universal church, whose interests are paramount to all local disputes, recognizes *de facto* governments, without intending by this to confer a new right, detract from any legitimate claim, or decide upon *de jure* questions. The republics of New Granada * (1835), Ecuador (1838), and Chili (1840) were subsequently recognized with all the solemnities of international law.

In the last-named country there were two episcopal sees during the Spanish dominion. These were Santiago and Concepcion, both subject to the Metropolitan of Lima; but Gregory rearranged the Chilian episcopate, making the first see an archbishopric, with Concepcion, La Serena, and San Carlos de Ancud (in the island of Chiloe) for suffragan sees.

At the time that the apostolic mission to South America was determined upon, there was living in Rome a young ecclesiastic as yet "to fortune and to fame unknown," but who was destined to become the first pope who has ever been across the Atlantic, and the foremost man of the nineteenth century. This was Don Giovanni Mastai-Ferretti, one of the fourteen canons of the collegiate church of Santa Maria *in Via Lata*. He was selected by Pius VII. to accompany Mgr. Muzi as adjunct. The secretary of the apostolic delegation was a priest named Giuseppe Sallusti, who wrote a full narrative of the expedition, in which, as Cardinal Wiseman says, "The minutest details are related with the good-humored garrulity of a new traveller, who to habits of business

* In 1836 Mgr.—afterwards Cardinal—Gaetano Baluffi, Bishop of Bagnorea, was sent to this country as first internuncio and apostolic delegate. He published an interesting work on his return to Italy, giving an account of religion in South America from its colonization to his own time: *L'America un tempo spagnuola riguardata sotto l'aspetto religioso dall' epoca del suo discoprimento, sino al* 1843. (Ancona, 1844.)

and practical acquaintance with graver matters unites, as is common in the South, a dash of comic humor and a keen sense of the ridiculous, and withal a charming simplicity and freshness of mind, which render the book amusing as well as instructive, in spite of its heavy quotations from that lightest of poets, Metastasio." * It is in 4 vols. 8vo, with a map. Comparatively but a small portion of the work is taken up with the actual voyages and travels of the party, the rest being devoted to the preliminaries or causes of the mission, to a description of Chili, and an account of the many missionary establishments which had once flourished, as well as of those that were still maintained, there. A fifth volume was promised by the author, to contain the documents, official acts, and results of the mission; but we believe that it was never published. The vicar-apostolic having received, at the earnest solicitation of a learned ecclesiastic from the Argentine Confederation, Rev. Dr. Pacheco, very ample faculties not only for the country to which he was more immediately accredited, but also for Buenos Ayres, Peru, Colombia, Mexico, and all other parts of the ex-Spanish dominions, and accompanied by the envoy Cienfuegos and Father Raymond Arce, a young Dominican belonging to Santiago, the party left Rome for Bologna, where it rested awhile to get a foretaste of the magnificent scenes in the New World from Father T. de Molina, who had long resided in Chili. The next stage in the journey was to Genoa, the port of embarkation, which was reached only on the 17th of July; but, "by a series of almost ludicrous delays," the

* *Dublin Review*, vol. xxiv., June, 1848. The full title of this rare work (of which there is no copy even in the Astor Library) is as follows: *Storia delle Missioni Apostoliche dello stato del Chile, colla descrizione del viaggio dal vecchio al nuovo mondo fatto dall' autore.* Opera di Giuseppe Sallusti. Roma, 1827, pel Mauri.

expedition was detained until after the death of Pius VII. and the election of his successor, Leo XII., who confirmed the mission and addressed a brief to the president* of the Chilian Republic, recommending its objects and the welfare of its members.

All matters being now satisfactorily arranged, the party got on board the fine French-built brig *Eloysa* on the 11th of October, 1823. The vessel sailed under Sardinian colors, and was manned by a crew of thirty-four men, and officered by experienced sailors, the captain, Anthony Copello, having several times navigated the South Atlantic. The weather was very rough, as usual, in the Gulf of Lyons; "and gurly grew the sea," to the dismay and discomfiture of the terrified landsmen, "Mastai," as Sallusti familiarly calls his companion, suffering horribly from sickness. This was but the beginning of many trials, and even some serious dangers, amidst which we can well imagine that the captain would have been glad beyond measure if any one had hinted at the very special Providence that guarded his ship, by quoting the famous words, "*Quid times? Cæsarem vehis et fortunam ejus!*" Soon the *Eloysa* approached the coast of Catalonia, down which she sailed at the rate of ten knots an hour, until struck by a furious southwest hurricane, the *libeccio* so much dreaded in the Mediterranean, which threatened destruction to all and everything in its course. To a landsman like Sallusti the storms encountered on this voyage would naturally appear worse than they

* This was Gen. Bernard O'Higgins, a gentleman of one of the distinguished Irish families which took refuge in Spain from the persecutions of the English government. He was born in Chili of a Chilian mother. His father had been captain-general of what was called the kingdom of Chili, and was afterwards Viceroy of Peru. The younger O'Higgins was a very superior man, taking a principal part in asserting the independence of his native land, of which he became the first president; but unfortunately he died in 1823, a few months before the arrival of the apostolic mission.

really were, and his frequent account of "waves mountain-high" and "imminent shipwreck" would perhaps sound like "yarns" to an old tar. He delights in describing the *Eloysa* as

> "Uplifted on the surge, to heaven she flies,
> Her shattered top half buried in the skies,"
>
> —*Falconer.*

and everywhere shows himself, like a good inland *abbate*, dreadfully afraid of salt water. Capt. Copello would fain have put into Valencia for shelter; but it was feared that the Spanish authorities might detain his ship, or at least disembark the passengers, and it was determined rather to brave the elements than to trust themselves within gunshot of a Spanish harbor. These bold resolutions, however, did not appease the fury of the wind, and it finally came to deciding between a watery grave and a stony prison; the decision was quickly taken, and Palma, in the island of Majorca, was fetched in safety. The mission party was very inhospitably treated here; and Mgr. Muzi and Canon Mastai were ordered to come on shore at once and give an account of themselves. As soon as they had put foot on land the two distinguished ecclesiastics were thrust into a cold and filthy Lazaretto, on plea of sanitary regulations, but really out of spite for their character and destination. Their papers were seized, and measures instantly taken to bring them to trial; and there was even talk of sending them to an African fortress where political prisoners were confined. When Sallusti heard of this Balearic treatment, he summoned all his Italian courage, and, going on shore, declared to the cocked-hatted officials that he would share the fate of his companions; but instead of admiring this prodigality of a

great soul (Hor., *Od.*, i. 12, 38), those unclassical islanders simply swore round oaths and turned him in with the rest. This was fortunate in one sense; for we would otherwise have missed a good description of the examination of the three Italians before the magistrates, who behaved rudely; the alcalde, in his quality of judge, putting on more airs than a Roman proconsul.* Further outrages were threatened, but the intervention of the *Sardinian consul* and of the Bishop of Palma finally convinced those proud men of the exclusively religious mission of their victims. In view of subsequent events in Italy, it seems strange that the future pope should have been saved from further indignities, and perhaps from a dungeon, by an agent of the Piedmontese government; yet so it was. The Italians were permitted to return to their ship, but a demand was made to deliver up the two Chilians as rebellious Spanish subjects. This was promptly refused; and notwithstanding a great deal of blustering and many threats, the case was allowed to drop, and the *Eloysa* sailed away after several days' detention. Gibraltar was passed on the 28th of October, and, a severe storm having tossed the brig about unmercifully on her entry into the Atlantic, the peak of Teneriffe loomed up on November 4.

After leaving the Canary Islands the *Eloysa* was hailed one dark night by a shot across her bows, which came from a Colombian privateer, and quickly brought her to. She was soon boarded, and a gruff voice demanded her papers and to have the crew and passengers mustered on deck. Sallusti was in mortal dread, and, to

*Palma boasts of its ancient title of *¡Muy insigne y leal ciudad*, and that its habitants have been distinguished "*en todos tiempos por su filantropia con los naufragos*"—a specimen of which we give. When Mastai became Pius IX. it sent a special deputation to make an *amende honorable* to his Holiness for ancient wrongs.

judge from his description of the scene, he must have been quaking with fear; but Don Giovanni Mastai behaved with that calmness and dignity which even then began to be remarked in him, in whatever circumstances he found himself. After some delay, the brig was allowed to proceed; nothing being taken off but a bottle of good Malaga wine—which, however, was rather *accepted* than stolen by the rover of the seas.

After a time the Cape Verd Islands appeared in all their richness; and on the 27th of the month the line was crossed amidst the usual riot of sailors, and with the payment of a generous ransom by the clergy. On December 8 the *Eloysa* lay becalmed alongside of a slaver crowded with poor Africans on their way to Brazil. Sallusti complains about this time of bad water and short rations, and mentions with particular disgust that the fare generally consisted of potatoes and lean chickens. On the 22d a man fell overboard in a dreadful gale, and was rescued with difficulty. Christmas was celebrated as well as circumstances permitted; and a neat little oratory having been fitted up in the main cabin, midnight Mass was said by the archbishop, the second Mass by Canon Mastai, and the third by Friar Arce. On the 27th of December, St. John's Day, and the patronal feast of the canon, the welcome cry of "Land ho!" was heard from the lookout at the mast-head about three P.M., and the crew and passengers united upon deck to return fervent thanks to Almighty God. The land sighted was a small desert island, a little north of Cape Santa Maria, off the coast of Uruguay. A fearful storm was encountered the next evening at the mouth of the La Plata. This was one of those southwestern gales, called *Pamperos*, which frequently blow with inconceivable fury, causing singular fluctuations in the depth of the

wide mouth of the river. It raged so that the captain was obliged to cut his cable and abandon the shelter of Flores Island, which he had sought when it began, and to take to the open sea again. With better weather he returned and dropped anchor opposite Montevideo on the evening of January 1, 1824. Salusti goes into raptures over the beautiful aspect of the city, as seen from the bay; its broad and regular streets, its stately houses built on a gentle elevation, its fine cathedral, the strains of music borne over the water —everything enchanted the travellers, weary of a three months' voyage:

> "The sails were furl'd; with many a melting close
> Solemn and slow the evening anthem rose—
> Rose to the Virgin. 'Twas the hour of day
> When setting suns o'er summer * seas display
> A path of glory, opening in the west
> To golden climes and islands of the blest;
> And human voices on the balmy air
> Went o'er the waves in songs of gladness there!"
>
> —*Rogers.*

As soon as the news got abroad of a delegation from the pope, the whole city was in a joyful commotion, and a deputation, consisting of the cathedral chapter, four other secular priests, and two Dominican fathers, came to the ship to pay their respects to Mgr. Muzi, who was also invited on shore and pressed with every offer of assistance by the most honorable representatives of the laity. These kind attentions could not induce the party to land; and as soon as damages were repaired and a pilot received, sail was made for Buenos Ayres, which was sighted at two P.M. of January 5; but just while the passengers were all on deck watching the approaches to

* In the southern hemisphere *January* comes in summer.

the city, they were assailed and driven below by myriads of mosquitoes. Sallusti is very vehement against these sharp little insects, and bewails the lot of those who must live among them ; but he carefully avoids a comparison with the *fleas* of his native Italy. Although the passengers remained on board that night, crowds of people lined the shore, and, after salutes of artillery, greeted them with cries of "Long live the vicar-apostolic!" "Cheers for America!" "Success to Chili!" On the following day the captain of the port and his suite came off to the brig, bringing a courteous note from the governor, offering a public reception (for which preparations had already been made) and the hospitalities of the city to the members of the mission. This was declined, for reasons that are not very clear ; but although the archbishop gave his bad health as the principal excuse, we suspect that Cienfuegos impressed upon the Italians that, the mission being directed to *his* country, it were uncourtly to parade it before reaching its destination. By their minds such a view would be accepted as *assai diplomatico*. When the party did land, they put up at a hotel called "The Three Kings," kept by a jolly Englishman, who treated them right royally—and made them pay in proportion. During their twelve days' stay in Buenos Ayres, the archbishop and his suite received every mark of reverence from the people ; yet the officials maintained a cold reserve since the refusal to accept their invitation. Even the ecclesiastical authority—such as it was—put on very bad airs ; Zavaletta, a simple priest, but administrator of the diocese, having the audacity to withdraw from Mgr. Muzi permission, which had been previously granted, to give confirmation. At the time of the arrival of the apostolic mission the provinces of the Rio de la Plata, which had

formed part of the Spanish viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres, had been united from 1816 to 1820, but were now in a state of political isolation, somewhat like that of the States of the American Union before the federal Constitution was adopted. Soon after the arrival of the mission another General Congress was called. Still, the Italians were not impressed—as it was important that they should be to obtain for the South Americans proper consideration at Rome—with the idea of a strong government holding sway over a vast and wealthy territory. On the 16th of January, at nine o'clock in the forenoon, the party began the journey across the continent. Three great covered wagons, each drawn by four horses and guided by twelve postilions, composed the train ; while a courier went ahead to hunt up quarters, and a mounted orderly, with a very long sword and a fierce-looking beard, brought up the rear or pranced about the flanks of the line. The drivers kept around in no particular order, sonorously cracking their whips and uttering loud words which probably were *not* oaths to the unaccustomed ears of Sallusti. Besides the three Italians, there was Cienfuegos with four young Chilians in his company and two servants, so that the whole party was pretty numerous, and the more so when, a little further on, six gallant guachos * were added as an escort. Only fifteen miles were made the first day, which brought the party to Moron, where confirmation was given. At a miserable rancho called Lujan the archbishop said his first Mass on the pampas † at a rich altar improvised for him by the *padre* of the place, and

* The *guachos* are half-wild cattle-breeders and horse-breakers, who are almost constantly in the saddle and very expert in the use of the lasso, but not to be trusted over-much.

† The pampas are vast, treeless plains covered at most seasons with coarse grass on which are pastured countless herds of cattle and horses and flocks of sheep.

surmounted by four massive silver candlesticks. The room was hung round with rich damask hangings. It was like a jewel in a dung-heap. The Arecife stream was crossed in boats by the travellers, but forded by the wagons and horsemen. The superb Paraná River was reached at San Pedro; and thence the route lay through a rich and beautiful country to the important town of Rosario, on the high, precipitous banks of the great river. At the outskirts of this place the party was met by the parish priest; and confirmation was administered the next day to an immense number of the faithful, long deprived of this sacrament. From Rosario,* which they left on the morning of the 23d, the journey was long, weary, and dangerous, on account of the roving bands of Indians which at that period scoured the plains in all directions to cut off herdsmen and small parties of travellers or traders, making a booty of their baggage, killing the men, and carrying women and children into captivity. At a little station called Orqueta the party caught sight for the first time of a wild Indian, who was lurking about the place in a very suspicious manner, but kept at a respectful distance from the guachos. When Sallusti saw this man apparently spying out the route and strength of the party, the marrow nearly froze in his bones; and he certainly had good cause for alarm. It happened that leaving Buenos Ayres a few days earlier than had been given out was lucky; for a large band of these mounted savages, armed with lances and lassos, had got wind of the arrival of great personages from Europe, carrying (it was reported) an immense amount of treasure to the Pacific coast, and had formed a plan

* There is now a railway in operation across the plains between Rosario and Cordova—part of the great but unfinished Interoceanic and Transandine line between Buenos Ayres and Santiago, 888 miles.

to attack them, which was defeated only by mistaking the day of their departure, whereby their arrival at the lonely and ill-famed post of Desmochados was miscalculated. Three days after the mission party had passed, the Indians, to the number of about three hundred, swooped down upon the place, but, instead of finding the rich foreigners, they surrounded only a miserable set of twenty peons escorting a lot of goods across the plains. These were all massacred except one, who, although badly wounded and left for dead, survived to tell the story and describe the fiendish disappointment of the savages at not capturing the prey they expected. At Frayle Muerto Mgr. Muzi received, through the agency of Cienfuegos, a polite message from the clergy of Cordova ;* but having sent his return compliments directly instead of through the channel of original communication, the Chilian thought himself slighted, and separated from the mission party, preceding it a good distance, and taking with him, besides his own attendants, the orderly in brilliant uniform, who, the Europeans had the mortification of seeing, was meant to distinguish the *native* dignitary, although a subordinate in clerical rank. Such is human nature, whether at courts or on a dusty plain.

After passing through several small settlements and the more important town of San Luis—being everywhere nobly received—the fine old city of Mendoza was reached on the 15th of February. It seemed as if the

* Cordova was formerly the second city in the viceroyalty. It had an university, erected by the Jesuits, which was once famous. An ex-professor of this university wrote a book which has been called "most erudite," but which is extremely rare. There is no copy in the Astor Library, although it is an important work for the information it gives about religion in South America under Spanish rule. The title is *Fasti Novi Orbis et ordinationum Apostolicarum ad Indias pertinentium breviarium cum adnotationibus.* Opera D. Cyriaci Morelli presbyteri, olim in universitate Neo-Cordubensi in Tucumania professoris. Venetiis, 1776.

entire population had turned out to honor the distinguished arrivals. Triumphal arches were erected, troops were drawn up under arms, processions of citizens and clergy marshalled ; from every house richly-colored tapestry was suspended, while the balconies were filled with ladies, who threw down flowers in the path of the apostolic vicar as he entered the town and proceeded to the house of a noble and wealthy lady, Doña Emmanuela Corbalan, in which everything had been prepared on the grandest scale of provincial magnificence, and where Cienfuegos, in all his glory and recovered temper, was waiting to receive him and Canon (Count) Mastai, who were to be lodged there during their stay ; the secretary, Sallusti, being handed over to a less worshipful host. Religious and civic festivals, excursions in the environs to the vineyards, gardens, farms, and silver-mines, with other congenial occupations, detained the party very agreeably during nine days in this neat and pleasant town, the climate of which is noted for its salubrity. On the 24th they left Mendoza, and had a delightful trip on horseback over good roads and through a civilized country for seventy-five miles to the foot of the mighty Andes. They were now on the eastern range of the Cordilleras, at the Paramilla Mountains, which are about ten thousand feet high and partly covered with wood. Between these and the western range they traversed, near thirty-two degrees south latitude, a wide valley, sterile and impregnated with salt, for over forty miles, called the Uspallata. For fifteen miles the road was level, and the remainder winding up and down the hills which skirt both ranges. After crossing this valley, they struck the great range of the Andes, which is between fifty and sixty miles in width, consisting of four or five parallel masses of rock, divided from one an-

other by deep and dangerous ravines and sombre glens. The road which leads over them is called the *Cumbre* (summit) Pass, and attains at one point an elevation of twelve thousand four hundred and fifty-four feet above the level of the sea. Our travellers crossed on mules by this road, getting to the north of them, amidst piles of perpetual snow, a magnificent view of the grand volcano of Aconcagua, which is nearly twenty-four thousand feet high. The passage of the mountains was grand and impressive, but was not made without danger to the lives of some of the party, particularly on the 29th of February. From La Cumbre there is a gradual descent to the city of Santiago. On the 1st of March the travellers cast their admiring gaze upon the Pacific slope, which, from that day until they entered the capital of Chili, on the 6th of the month—passing through Villa-de-Santa-Rosa and over the magnificent plains of Chacabuco—was a continually shifting panorama of natural beauty, enhanced by villages, convents, and churches perched on the side of verdant hills or nestling in the fruitful valleys. At every halting-place their hearts were filled with a holy joy to witness the demonstrations of faith among the people, and of loyalty to their great spiritual chief on earth, represented by Mgr. Muzi. The party entered Santiago, as was said, on the 6th, and, going to the cathedral, the archbishop intoned pontifically the *Te Deum*, with the assistance of a future pope and of the historian of the apostolic mission. The members of the legation were lodged in a house near the *Cappucinas ;* and although we know little of the occupations of Canon Mastai in Chili, it is certain that he made himself personally very agreeable. How could it be otherwise ?

"A man of letters, and of manners too:
Of manners sweet as virtue always wears,
When gay good nature dresses her in smiles."

—*Cowper.*

We have been told by a distinguished Chilian that our late Holy Father was a frequent guest in Santiago at the house of his uncle, Don Francisco Ruiz Tagle, and used to go out with him quite often to his country-seat. Although the mission was received with an almost universal outburst of enthusiasm, and notwithstanding the majority of the clergy and people was well disposed, it met with considerable opposition from a fierce and fanatical party of Freemasons, which threw every obstacle in the way of close relations with Rome. Cardinal Wiseman says, in the article in the *Dublin Review* from which we have already quoted, that "there was jealousy and bad faith on the part of the Chilian government, and want of tact and bad management, we fear, on the part of the head of the mission." Unfortunately, the government was in a transition state between the presidency of O'Higgins and the election of his successor, Freire, and administered by a *Junta.* Where there were so many voices there was much confusion. Cienfuegos, however, seems to have done his duty, and he was rewarded in 1832 by the bishopric of Concepcion, which had been vacant for fourteen years. He died in 1839. With regard to the causes of the failure of the mission, we will not conceal what we have heard from an excellent senator of Chili, although we mention it reservedly—that one, at least, of the reasons was a suspicion that Muzi intended to put Italians in the sees vacant or to be erected in Chili.

From Santiago Mgr. Muzi and his party went to Valparaiso, and embarked for their return voyage on the

30th of October, 1824. The remarks of the celebrated Spaniard Balmes upon the visit of the future pope to the New World find their place here: "There is certainly in nature's grand scenes an influence which expands and nerves the soul; and when these are united to the contemplation of different races, varied in civilization and manners, the mind acquires a largeness of sentiment most favorable to the development of the understanding and the heart, widening the sphere of thought and ennobling the affections. On this account it is pleasing, above all things, to see the youthful missionary, destined to occupied the chair of St. Peter, traverse the vast ocean; admire the magnificent rivers and superb chains of mountains in America; travel through those forests and plains where a rich and fertile soil, left to itself, displays with ostentatious luxury its inborn treasures by the abundance, variety, and beauty of its productions, animate and inanimate; run risks among savages, sleep in wretched hovels or on the open plain, and pass the night beneath that brilliant canopy which astonishes the traveller in the southern hemisphere. Providence, which destined the young Mastai-Ferretti to reign over a people and to govern the universal church, led him by the hand to visit various nations, and to contemplate the marvels of nature." *

A remote but very providential consequence of the visit of Pius IX. to America, during his early career, was the establishment of the South American College at Rome, called officially in Italian the Pio-Latino Americano,† which educates aspirants to the priesthood from

* *Pio IX.* Por D. Jaime Balmes, Presbitero. Madrid, 1847.

† The *Annuario Pontificio* of 1861 called it Americano Ispano-Portoghese, but the name was since changed to the present one. Some distinguished bishops

Brazil and all parts of the American continent where the Spanish language is spoken. A wealthy, intelligent, and influential Chilian priest, Don Ignacio Eyzaguirre,* who had been vice-president of the House of Representatives in 1848, and was an author of repute, was charged by Pius IX. in 1856 to visit the dioceses of South and Central America and Mexico, to obtain the views of the several bishops upon the necessity of founding an ecclesiastical seminary at Rome. The project was universally acceptable, and funds having been provided—the Holy Father giving liberally from his private purse—a beginning was made in 1858, when a part of the Theatine Convent of San Andrea *della Valle* was given up to the students, who were put under the direction of Jesuit Fathers. This location was only temporary; and the college was soon transferred to the large house of the general of the Dominicans, attached to the convent of Santa Maria *sopra Minerva*, and facing the piazza. However, it has been moved again, and in 1869 occupied the right wing of the Jesuit novitiate at San Andrea on the Quirinal, with fifty-five inmates. As if this worthy es-

have already issued from this college, among whom is a very dear friend of ours, Mgr. Montes de Oca, who fills the see of Linares in Mexico.

* This clergyman came to the notice of the Pope from the fact that an uncle of his, a very worthy man, had been one of Canon Mastai's great friends in Chili, and was named and confirmed Archbishop of Santiago, but resigned the bulls before consecration. His nephew was made an apostolic prothonotary in 1859. It was reported that Mgr. Eyzaguirre gave eighty thousand scudi to the South American College out of his own patrimony. We have enjoyed the pleasure of a personal acquaintance with him at Rome, and of a trip in his company on the steamer between Marseilles and Civita Vecchia on one occasion when he was returning from South America in charge of a band of recruits for his college—some of them taken from the cities, others picked up in the interior of Bolivia and at the head-waters of the Amazon—a good-looking, delighted set of boys, rather oddly dressed and playing with their pets, mostly parrots and monkeys, nearly all the time. Some of them had been twenty-three days consecutively travelling on mules along the Andes in order to reach the general rendezvous at Panama.

tablishment had to figure in its shifting fortune the unsettled state of so many of the Spanish-American countries, it has again been disturbed; yet to have suffered at the hands of Victor Emanuel and his sacrilegious band is the indication of a good cause, and will prepare to meet other, although hardly worse, enemies in the New World.

# THE PALATINE PRELATES OF ROME.

WHATEVER is connected with our Holy Father must have an interest for Catholics; and at the present time especially it would seem desirable to know something about the origin and functions of those faithful prelates of whom this article treats, and with some of whom American visitors to Rome may be likely to have relations. They are called palatine prelates because lodged in the same palace as the sovereign, and in these days of trouble are the nearest to his most sacred Majesty in his solitude and sufferings. They are four in number, and belong to the Pope's intimate court and confidence, their names being registered in the Roman *Notizie* or *Annuario Pontificio* immediately after those of the palatine cardinals among the members of the pontifical family.

## MAGGIORDOMO.

The majordomo, called in Latin, which is the official language of the Church, *Magister Domus Papæ*, is the first of these prelates and one of the highest dignitaries of the Holy See. The chief of the royal palace has had in all countries immense influence and power; and in France and Scotland, at least, the *Maires du palais* and Stewards succeeded in mounting the throne. This officer, who, like the other three, is always a clergyman, is the high steward of his Holiness and master of his household, remaining day and night conveniently near to the Pope's person, of which he has the special care, and for

the safety of which he is responsible to the Sacred College. Until the present reign he was supreme under the sovereign, in the civil, military, and ecclesiastical affairs of the court, having his own tribunal of civil and criminal jurisdiction.* Some years ago, however, a part of the prerogatives of this office was transferred to the Cardinal Secretary of State; but even now the majordomo is at the head of the administration of the palace in which the Pope may reside for the time being, and on a vacancy of the see is *ex-officio*, by a decree of Clement XII. in 1732, governor of the conclave.† In this latter capacity, by a natural order of things which cannot be long delayed (yet God grant it may!), he will have to act a part during one of the most critical periods in the history of Christian Rome. He has the privilege‡ for life of using the Pope's arms with his own, and consequently retains this heraldic distinction even after he has been promoted to the cardinalate, to which his office surely leads, sooner or later, according to a court custom that began in the middle of the seventeenth century.§

* This corresponded to the court of marshalsea in England.

† During the memorable conclave at which Pius IX. was elected, this office was held by Monsignor Pallavicino, who caused to be struck, according to his right, a number of bronze and silver medals with his family arms quartering those of Gregory XVI. Above his prelate's hat on the obverse were the words *Sede Vacante*, and on the reverse the inscription *Alerames ex marchionibus Pallavicino sacri palatii apostolici præfectus et conclavis gubernator* 1846.

‡ It dates from the year 1535, when Paul III. permitted his majordomo Boccaferri to assume on his coat-of-arms, as an additament of honor (in the language of blazonry), one of the lilies or *fleurs-de-lis* of the Farnese family. If the subject prefer to do so, he may bear the Pope's arms on a canton, carry them on an inescutcheon, or impale instead of quartering them.

§ While writing this, we hear of the elevation to the purple of the majordomo Monsignor Pacca, whom we have had the honor, when a private chamberlain to the Pope, of knowing and of serving under. He was one of the most popular prelates at the Vatican for his urbanity and attention to business. He is a patrician of the bluest blood of Beneventum and nephew to the celebrated Cardinal Pacca, so well known for his services to Pope Pius VII. and for his interesting *Memoirs*. [The cardinal has since died. *R. I. P.*]

The origin of this office is involved in some doubt, owing to its antiquity. It must have been that, in the palace given to Pope Melchiades by the Emperor Constantine, some person conspicuous for piety and prudence was appointed to keep the members of a large and constantly increasing court in mutual harmony and subjection to authority, while relieving the pontiff of the immediate superintendence of his household, and leaving him free to give his precious time to public and more important matters. At all events, at a very early period after this there is mentioned among the officers attached to the *Patriarchium Lateranense*—as the old *Ædes Lateranæ* were then called—a *Vice-dominus*, who was chosen from the Roman clergy, and was often, as the more modern prelates have been, invested with the episcopal dignity. He was answerable for the good order and harmonious administration of the palace; and the extent of that portion of it in which he dwelt and had his offices, as well as held his court of jurisdiction over the papal domestics,* must have been large, since it was called the *vice-dominium;* and although his successor fifteen hundred years later has not the same ample powers that he enjoyed, he is still a personage so considerable that the part of the Vatican in which he resides is known officially as the *Maggiordomato.* The earliest name (not title) of such an officer which has come down to us is that of a certain priest Ampliatus, who is mentioned in the year 544 as having accompanied Pope Vigilius to Constantinople for the affair of the Three Chapters, and being detached from the pontiff's suite at Sicily on their way back, with orders to hurry on to Rome, where the concerns of the Lateran seem to have suffered by his

* The grated prison for such offenders was a chamber deep down among the vaults of the Cellarium Majus of the Lateran.

absence. Anatolius, a deacon, held the office under St. Gregory the Great, who was very particular to have only virtuous and learned men about him; and in 742 Benedict, a bishop, held it under St. Zachary, who sent him on a mission to Luitprand, King of the Lombards. This officer is mentioned for the last time in history as *Vicedominus* in the year 1044, when an archdeacon Benedict served under Benedict IX. After this period, those who held the analogous position were styled chamberlains of the Holy Roman Church until 1305, when, the court being at Avignon, a large share of their duties and privileges was given to a nobleman of high standing, who was called *Maestro del sacro Ospizio*.*

Under Alexander V., in 1409, the Holy Father having returned to Rome, mention is made for the first time, in a paper drawn up for the guidance of the court, of a prefect of the apostolic palace—*Magister domus pontificiæ*—who was the same as the later majordomo, the name only having been changed by Urban VIII. in 1626. The series of these high prelates, to the number of 100—belonging generally to the very first nobility of Italy, and showing such illustrious names as Colonna, Gonzaga, Farnese, Frangipani, Visconti, Acquaviva, Cybo, Cenci, Caraffa, Pico della Mirandola, Piccolomini, Borghese, Borromeo, etc.—begins with Alexander Mirabelli, a Neapolitan, who was named to the office by Pius II. in the month of August, 1458.

## MAESTRO DI CAMERA.

This officer, whose official title in Latin is *Præfectus cubiculi Sanctitatis suæ*, is the second palatine prelate.

* This office still exists, and is one of the important charges at the papal court which is always held by a layman. It was hereditary in the famous Conti family until its extinction in the last century, when it passed, after a considerable inter-

He is the grand chamberlain of his Holiness, carries out the entire court ceremonial, and has the supervision of all audiences, as well as admittances of whatever kind to the presence of the Pope. How important and confidential is this post which he holds at the door of the papal chambers may best be judged from the single fact that no one can approach the sovereign without his knowledge in all and his consent * in most cases. He has sometimes the episcopal character—in truth, was usually in times past an archbishop *in partibus ;* but it is now more customary for him to be simply in priest's orders. If, however, he be not already a prelate of high rank, he is always, soon after his nomination to the office, made an apostolic prothonotary, with precedence over all his brethren in that ancient and honorable college. Like his immediate superior, he has the privilege of quartering the Pope's arms with his own. He is the keeper of the Fisherman's ring, and at the Pope's death delivers it up to the cardinal chamberlain of the Holy Roman College, who gives him a notarial receipt for it. This celebrated ring is the official one of the popes, and gets its name from having the figure of St. Peter in a bark and casting his net into the sea engraved upon it. Above this figure is cut the name of the reigning pontiff. It is the first among the rings, but the second in the class of seals, since it only serves as the privy seal or signet used on apostolic briefs and matters of subordinate consequence,† whereas the Great Seal is used to impress

val, on the same condition into that of Ruspoli as the nearest representative of that ancient race. The present holder of this office is the Prince Don Francesco Ruspoli.

* Exception is made for ambassadors and foreign ministers accredited to the Holy See, who claim the right of presentation or of access through the Cardinal Secretary of State.

† It is well to observe that briefs are not sealed with the *original* ring, which does not go out of the keeper's custody except the Pope demand it, but with a

the heads of SS. Peter and Paul in lead (sometimes, but rarely, in gold) on papal bulls. At first this ring was a private and not an official one of the Pope; for in a letter from Perugia of March 7, 1265, addressed by Clement IV. to his nephew Peter Le Gros, he says that he writes to him and to his other relatives, not *sub bulla, sed sub piscatoris sigillo, quo Romani Pontifices in suis secretis utuntur;* from which we gather that the ring was in use some time before, but by whom introduced is unknown, as is also the precise period when it became official, although this happened during one or other of the fifteenth-century pontificates. Perhaps the first time that the now familiar expression, "Given under the Fisherman's ring," is met with in the manner of a formal statement or curial formula, such as it has been ever since retained, is in a document of Nicholas V. dated from Rome—*Datum Romæ*—on the 15th of April, 1448.

The institution of this office is extremely ancient, but, like most others of the court, it has had different names and increased or diminished attributions at various periods. The modern Romans take a legitimate pride in being able to deduce many of their great court offices from the corresponding ones of the Cæsars, to whom their sovereign has succeeded. Thus this officer is sometimes called in classical Latin *Magister admissionum*, such an one being mentioned by the historian Ammianus Marcellinus (xv. 5); and his office *Officium admissionis*, which is found in Suetonius' *Life of Vespasian* (xiv.) Among the members of the household of St. Gregory the Great in the year 601 there was a certain

fac-simile preserved in the *Secreteria de' Brevi.* Since June, 1842, red sealing-wax, because too brittle and effaceable, is no longer used; but in its stead a thick red ink, or rather pigment, is employed.

(St.) Paterius, *Secundicerius* of the Holy See (corresponding to the modern sub-dean of the apostolic prothonotaries, the dean being *Primicerius*). He had to make known to the Pope the names of those who solicited the favor of an interview; and it is probable that he also gave (as is now given) along with the name some account of the quality and business of the visitor, for fear that the pontiff should be unnecessarily intruded upon or brought in contact with unworthy and perhaps dangerous characters. Investigators into the origin of the offices of the Holy See have fixed upon this person as the remote predecessor of the present *Maestro di Camera;* but all the charges of the palace having been remodelled and placed nearly on their present footing about four hundred and fifty years ago, and many of the court records having been lost or stolen during the disturbed era between the pontificates of Clement V. (1305) and Martin V. (1417)—which includes the periods of Avignon and the Schism—the authentic roll of the holders of these high offices of state rarely begins earlier than the fifteenth century. Thus the first grand chamberlain of the modern series is Bindaccio Ricasoli of Florence, who was *Magister aulæ palatii* to John XXIII. in 1410. The *Maestro di Camera*, being constantly in company with exalted personages who seek an audience of the Holy Father and wait their turn in, or at all events pass through, the *Anticamera nobile*, which opens immediately into the Pope's reception-room, must be distinguished for good breeding and courtliness, and serve as a model to his subordinates in that august apartment, lest it be said of him:

> "His manners had not that repose
> Which stamps the caste of Vere de Vere."

Hence we are prepared to find the noblest families of Italy represented in the office, and notice such patrician names as Odescalchi, Altieri, Fieschi, Ruffo, Doria, Massimo, Pignatelli, Caracciolo, Barberini, Riario-Sforza, Ricci-Paracciani, etc.

### UDITORE.

The auditor of his Holiness—*Auditor Papæ*—is the agent-general, most intimate privy councillor, and canonist of the Pope. He is third in rank of the palatine prelates, and lived in the Quirinal, where his offices and the archives were situated, until the present iniquitous occupation, since which they have been removed to the Torlonia palace, near the Vatican. This office was instituted by Paul II. (1464–1471), and the first to hold it was the renowned J. B. Millini, a noble Roman, who was at the same time Bishop of Urbino (which was administered by some one else in his name); he later became a cardinal under Sixtus IV., in 1476. Up to this century the power and general influence of the auditor were extraordinary, since he had a court of justice and ample jurisdiction, even exercising in the name of the Pope the supremacy of appeal in many matters. For this reason the great epigraphist Morcelli, who wrote before these judicial functions were abolished, called him *Judex sacrarum cognitionum*. Formerly he gave audience to all comers about matters of equity and appeal on Tuesdays, in his apartment at the Quirinal, standing in his prelatic robes behind a low-backed throne supposed by a sort of fiction to be then occupied by the Pope;* hence he was called in choice Latin *Cognoscens*

* In England, by a similar fiction, the king (or queen) is imagined to preside in the Court of King's Bench.

*vice sacrâ*—*i.e.*, in *lieu* of his Holiness. The common Italian appellation *Uditore Santissimo* is only a corrupt rendering of the Latin *Auditor Sanctissimi.* This post has always been occupied by one of the ablest jurists in Italy; and even now the auditor must be both very learned and most incorruptible, from the part that he takes officially in filling vacant sees and making other important nominations. He is essentially a man of study and of dry business, who seldom expects to rise higher and make a figure in the world. Hence his life is summed up in these old lines :

> " Si quis forte velit Jurisconsultus haberi :
> Continuet studium, velit a quocumque doceri :
> Invigilet: nec vincat eum tortura laboris :
> Fortior insurget, cunctisque recentior horis."

### MAESTRO DEL SACRO PALAZZO.

The Master of the Holy Apostolic Palace—*Magister Sacri Palatii Apostolici*—is one of the most distinguished members for piety and doctrine of the Dominican Order. He is the Pope's official theologian, and usually a consultor of several Roman congregations more nearly concerned with matters of faith and morals, as the Inquisition, Indulgences and Relics, Index, etc. He ranks fourth among the palatine prelates, and resided until the late invasion in the Quirinal Palace with his "companion" and two lay brothers of his order. He is considered an honorary auditor of the Rota, and as such has a place with the prelates of this class in the papal chapels and reunions. He retains the habit of his order, but wears on his hat a black prelatical band. He is *ex-officio* president of the Theological Faculty in the Roman University, and the person to whom was entrusted the

censorship of the press. In the Fifth General Council of the Lateran (1512–1517), under Leo X., it was decreed that nothing should be printed in Rome and its district without the permission of this prelate, whose authorization is given by the word *Imprimatur*, which must appear in the published work after the *Nihil obstat* of the deputed examiner. The origin of this office dates from the year 1218, when St. Dominic, who established the Order of Friars Preachers, suggested to Honorius III. that it would be proper if some one were charged to give religious instruction to the many servants of cardinals, prelates, and others, who used to spend their time idly in useless talk and slanderous gossip with their brethren of the papal palace while their masters were expecting an audience or engaged with his Holiness.* The Pope was pleased, and at once appointed Dominic to the good work, who began by explaining the Epistles of St. Paul.† The fruit of these pious conferences was so apparent that the Pope determined to perpetuate them under the direction of a Dominican. Besides the more familiar instructions, which were given at first extempore, it was arranged later that while the Pope and court were listening to the preacher appointed to sermonize in the palace during Advent and Lent, the papal domestics and other servants should also have the benefit of formal discourses, but in another part of the building. It was always the father *Master*—*i.e.*, doctor —who held forth to them until the sixteenth century,

* The first convent of the Dominicans in Rome, at Santa Sabina on the Aventine, was in part composed of a portion of the Savelli palace, in which Honorius, who belonged to this great family, generally resided, so that their founder could not help remarking the misbehavior of the loungers about the court. He did not go out of his way to find fault.

† There was a somewhat similar office of very ancient institution at the imperial court of Constantinople, the holder of which was called *Epistomonarcha*.

when the duties of his office becoming more onerous, especially by reason of the many attempts to misuse the recently-discovered art of printing to corrupt faith and morals in Rome itself, the obligation devolved upon his companion—*Pro-Magister* or *Socius*—who also holds three days of catechism in preparation for each of the four general communions that are given yearly in the palace. This deputy is appointed by the master, and is a person of consequence, succeeding sometimes to the higher office. When the learned Alexander V. became Pope (1409), the Master of the Palace was required to stand by at his meals, especially on Sundays and festival days, and be ready to propose difficult points of debate, or to enter into an argument on any matter and with any person present as the Holy Father should command.* There have been eighty occupants of this office since its institution (not to count several anti-masters created by anti-popes), of whom seventeen have been made cardinals, and among them the celebrated church historian Orsi. The great writer on Christian antiquities, Mamachi, held this office with distinction. It is one, of course, in which "brains" rather than "blood" find a place; and since there is no royal road to learning—for, as an old monkish couplet says:

> "Gutta cavat lapidem, non vi, sed sæpe cadendo,
> Sic homo fit doctus, non vi, sed sæpe studendo"

—we are not surprised that the series of Masters of the Apostolic Palace exhibits no such names as those that predominate among the chamberlains and majordomos —"Not many noble" (1 Cor. i. 26).

*Peter Filargo was a Greek from the island of Candia, which may account for his love of what at a pontiff's table corresponded to the symposium of the ancients—a species of after-dinner enjoyment, when, wine being introduced, philosophical or other agreeable subjects were discussed.

In the mother-church of the Dominican Order at Rome, *Santa Maria sopra Minerva*, which is also the title of the first American cardinal,* there is a special vault beneath the chapel of St. Dominic for the entombment of the masters ; but the brutal invaders who now hold possession of Rome having forbidden all intramural burials—evidently through malice, because, from the dry nature of the soil and the perfection of Roman masonry, there could not be the slightest danger from a moderate number of interments within the city—they will have to sleep after death in some less appropriate spot : "How long shall sinners, O Lord, how long shall sinners glory? . . . Thy people, O Lord, they have brought low ; and they have afflicted thy inheritance" (Ps. xciii.)

* The special significance of this title given to Cardinal McCloskey is that his predecessor in the see of New York and its first bishop, Luke Concanen, who was consecrated in Rome on April 24, 1808, was a Dominican, and had been for a long time officially attached to the convent and church of the *Minerva*, which was the headquarters of his order.

# THE CARDINALATE.

THE Senate and Sovereign Council of the Pope in the government and administration of the affairs of the church in Rome and throughout the world is composed of a number of very distinguished ecclesiastics who are called Cardinals. The office and dignity of a member of this body is termed the Cardinalate.

There is some dispute among the learned about the precise origin and meaning of the word cardinal as applied to such a person; but the commoner opinion derives it from the Latin *cardo*, the hinge of a door, which is probably correct; but the reason assigned for the appellation—because the cardinals are, in a figurative sense, the pivots around which revolve the portals of Christian Rome—is more descriptive than accurate. At a comparatively early age the parish priests of the churches, and later the canons of the cathedrals of Milan, Ravenna, Naples, and other cities of Italy, also in parts of France, Spain, and other countries, were called cardinals; and Muratori suggests that the name was taken in imitation, and perhaps in emulation, of the chief clergymen of the church in Rome. He thinks that they were so called at Rome and elsewhere because put in possession of, or immovably attached—*incardinati*—to, certain churches, which was expressed in low Latin by the verb *cardinare* or *incardinare*, formed from *cardo* as above, and the application of which in this sense receives an illustration from Vitruvius, who writes, in his treatise on architecture, of *tignum cardinatum*—one beam fitted into another.

Our oldest authority for the institution of the cardinalate is found in a few words of unquestionable authenticity in the *Liber Pontificalis*, or *Lives of the Popes*, extracted and compiled from very ancient documents by Anastasius the Librarian in the ninth century. It is there written of St. Cletus, who lived in the year 81, was an immediate disciple of the Prince of the Apostles, and his successor only once removed: "Hic ex præcepto beati Petri XXV * presbyteros ordinavit in urbe Roma, mense decembri." These priests, ordained by direction of blessed Peter, formed a select body of councillors to assist the Pope in the management of ecclesiastical affairs, and are the predecessors of those who were afterwards called cardinals of the Holy Roman Church. Hence Eugene IV. said in his constitution *Non Mediocri* (*XIX. Bull. Mainardi*) that the office of cardinal was evidently instituted by St. Peter and his near successors. Again, in the *Life of Evaristus*, who became Pope in the year 100, we read: "Hic titulos in urbe Roma divisit presbyteris." To this day the old churches of the city, at the head of which stand the cardinal-priests, are called titles, and all writers agree that the designation was given under this pontificate. There is hardly less difference of opinion about the original meaning of this word than there is about that of cardinal. Some have imagined that the fiscal mark put on objects belonging to, or that had devolved upon, the sovereign in civil administration being called *titulus* in Latin, the same word was applied by Christians to those edifices which were consecrated to the service of God; the ceremonies, such as the sprinkling of holy water and the unction of oil, used in the act of setting them apart for divine worship, marking them as belonging henceforth to the Ruler

* Some codices have XXXV.

of heaven and earth. Others think that, as a special mention was made in the ordination of a priest of the particular church in which he was to serve, it was called his title, as though it gave him a new name with his new character ; and this may be the reason of a custom, once universal, of calling a cardinal by the name of his church instead of by his family name.* Father Marchi, in his work on the *Early Christian Monuments of Rome*, has given several mortuary inscriptions which had been recently discovered of these ancient Roman priests and dignitaries, and from which we take these two : " Locus Presbyteri Basili Tituli Sabinæ," and " Loc. Adeodati Presb. Tit. Priscæ." After *locus* in the first and its abbreviation in the second inscription, the word *depositionis* —" of being laid to rest "—must be understood.

Let us here remark with the erudite Cenni that these titled priests were not such as were afterwards called parish priests or rectors of churches, with whom they were never confounded, and over whom, as intermediaries between them and the Pope, they had authority. These titulars were a select body of men not higher in point of *order*, but otherwise distinct from and superior to those priests who had parochial duties to perform

* During the residence of the popes at Avignon, and afterwards until about the time of the Council of Trent, it was usual to call cardinals by the name of their native places or of their dioceses, as the Cardinal of Gaeta (Cajetan), the Cardinal of Toledo. This was the case at first possibly because the cardinals were not very familiar with their titles on the banks of the Tiber, which many of them never saw, and may have been kept up afterwards when the popes returned to Rome, in some degree by that love of grand nomenclature which characterized the age of the revival of letters. It requires sometimes no little search to discover the *real* name of one who is called in history, for instance, the Cardinal of St. Chrysogonus (Cardinalis Sancti Chrysogoni) or the Cardinal of Pavia (Cardinalis Papiensis).

The present style has long been to call cardinals by their family names ; but if these be ancient or memorable ones, there is a recognized form of Latinization not to be departed from. Thus, to give an example, the late Cardinal Prince Altieri was called in Latin Cardinalis de Alteriis; a Borghese would be *Burghesius*, a Massimo, *de Maximis*.

within certain limits. Whether we believe that cardinal meant originally one who was chief in a certain church, just as was said (Du Cange's *Glossarium*) *Cardinalis Missa, Altare Cardinale,* and as we say in English, cardinal virtues, cardinal points; or whether we accept it as meaning one who was appointed to a particular church, it is not true that the *Roman* cardinals were so called either because they were the chief priests—*parochi*—of certain churches or because they were attached—*incardinati*—to a title. The great Modenese author on Italian antiquities has been deceived by similarity of name into stating that the origin and office of the cardinals of Rome did not differ from that of those of other churches (Devoti, *Inst. Can.*, vol. i. p. 188, note 4). It is noteworthy that the ordination performed by Cletus was done by direction of blessed Peter; that it was that of a special corps of priests; that it was not successive, but performed at one time and in the month of December, the same which an unbroken local tradition teaches is the proper season * for the creation of cardinals, out of respect for the first example. Now, the Pope surely needed no special injunction to continue the succession of the sacred ministry; we may consequently believe that the ordination made by him with such particular circumstances was an extraordinary proceeding, distinct from, although immediately followed by, the administration of the sacrament of Orders. Therefore if after the Evaristan distribution of titles the successors of these Cletan priests came to be called cardinals, it was not so much (accepting the origin of the *name* given above) because they were attached to par-

* Those who use the Roman *Ordo* in saying the Office will have remarked how constantly the expresssion *Mense decembri* occurs in the lessons of the earlier pope-saints as the season at which they held one or more ordinations. These ordinations thought worthy of being recorded were only those of cardinals.

ticular churches as because they were attached *in solidum* to the Roman Church, the mother and mistress of all churches, or, better still, as more conformable to the words of many popes and saints, because they were attached to (some good authors even say incorporated with) the Roman Pontiff. And it is in this figurative but very suggestive sense that Leo IV. writes of one of his cardinals whom he calls "Anastasius presbyter *cardinis nostri*, quem nos in titulo B. Marcelli Mart. atque pontif. ordinavimus" (Labbe, *Conc.*, tom. ix. col. 1135). In the same sense St. Bernard, addressing Eugene III., calls the cardinals his coadjutors and collaterals, and says (*Ep.* 237) that their business is to assist him in the government of the whole church, and (*Ep.* 150) that in spiritual matters they are judges of the world. Not otherwise did Pope John VIII., in the year 872, write that as he filled in the new law the office of Moses in the old, so his cardinals represented the seventy elders chosen to assist him. For this reason only cardinals are ever chosen legates *a latere*—*i.e.*, *Summi Pontificis*. The cardinals of Rome, therefore, were not cardinals because they had titles, but just the contrary. We have been a little prolix on a point that might seem minute, because there was once a determined effort made in some parts of France and Italy, especially during the last century, to try to prove that the cardinals of the Roman Church were no more originally than any other priests having cure of souls in the first instance, except that by a fortunate accident they ministered in the capital of the then known world. This was an attempt to depress the dignity of the cardinalate, or at least, by implication, to give undue importance to the status of a parish priest, as though he and a cardinal were once on the same footing. The like insidious argument would

be prepared to show, on occasion, that the Pope himself was in the beginning no more than any other bishop. The same name was often used in the early church of two persons, but of each in a different sense; and thus the mere fact of there having been cardinals in other churches than that at Rome no more diminishes the superior authority and higher dignity of the Roman cardinalate than the name of Pope, once common to all bishops, lessens the supremacy of the Roman pontificate. In ecclesiastical antiquities a common name often covers very different offices. In general, however, the instinct of Catholics will always be able to make the proper distinction, no matter how things are called; and the words of Alvaro Pelagio, who wrote his lachrymose treatise *De Planctu Ecclesiæ* about the year 1330, show how different was the popular opinion of the provincial and of the urban cardinals: "Sunt et in Ecclesia Compostellana cardinales presbyteri mitrati, et in Ecclesia Ravennate. *Tales cardinales sunt derisui potius quam honori.*" The name of cardinal was certainly in use at the beginning of the fourth century; for the seven cardinal-deacons of the Roman Church are mentioned in a council held under Pope Sylvester in 324; and a document of the pontificate of Damasus in 367, registering a donation to the church of Arezzo by the senator Zenobius, is subscribed in these words: "I, John, of the Holy Roman Church, a cardinal-deacon, on the part of Damasus, praise this act and confirm it." Among the archives, also, of St. Mary in Trastevere there is mention of Paulinus, a cardinal-priest in 492. The name of cardinal was restricted, by a just and peremptory decree of St. Pius V. in 1567, exclusively to the cardinals of pontifical creation, and it was only then that the haughty canons of Ravenna dropped this high-sounding

appellation. The idea figuratively connected with the cardinalship in the edifice of the Holy Roman Church is briefly exposed by Pope Leo IX., a German, in a letter to the Emperor of Constantinople. "As the gate itself," he says, "doth rest upon its post, thus upon Peter and his successors dependeth the government of the whole church. Wherefore his clerics are called cardinals, because they are most closely adhering to that about which revolveth all the rest" (Labbe, tom. ii. *Epist.* i. cap. 22). The author of an old poem on the Roman court (*Carmen de Curia Romana*) gives in a few lines the principal points of a cardinal's pre-eminence :

"Dic age quid faciunt quibus est a cardine nomen
Post Papam, quibus est immediatus honor?
Expediunt causas, magnique negotia mundi,
Extinguunt lites, fœdera rupta ligant.
Isti participes onerum, Papæque laborum,
Sustentant humeris grandia facta suis."

More completely, however, than anywhere else are the rights, prerogatives, and dignity of the cardinalate set forth in the 76th constitution of Sixtus V., beginning *Postquam ille verus*, of May 13, 1585.

A fact recorded by John the Deacon in the life of St. Gregory I. shows us how high was the office and rank of a cardinal in that age, and that to be appointed to a bishopric was considered a descent from a higher position. He says that this great Pope was always careful to obtain the consent of a cardinal before appointing him to govern a diocese, lest he should seem, by removing him from the person of Christ's Vicar, to give him a lower place : "Ne sub hujusmodi occasione quemquam *eliminando deponere videretur*." That bishops undoubtedly considered the cardinalate, in the light of influence

on the affairs of the whole church and the prospect of becoming Pope, as superior to the episcopate, appears at an early period, from a canon which it was necessary to make in order to repress their ambition in this direction. In a council held at Rome in the year 769 this canon was passed: "Si quis ex episcopis . . . contra canonum et sanctorum Patrum statuta prorumpens in gradum Majorum* sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, id est presbyterorum cardinalium et diaconorum, ire præsumpserit, . . . et hanc apostolicam sedem invadere . . . tentaverit, et ad summum pontificalem honorem ascendere voluerit, . . . fiat perpetuum anathema."

There was at one period not a little divergence of opinion about the precedence of cardinals over bishops; but the matter has long ago been irrevocably settled. A cardinal, indeed, cannot, unless invested with the episcopal character, perform any act that depends for its validity upon such a character, nor can he lawfully invade the jurisdiction of a bishop; but apart from this his *rank* in the church is always, everywhere, and under all circumstances superior to that of any bishop, archbishop, metropolitan, primate, or patriarch. Nor can it be said that this is an anomaly, unless we are also prepared to condemn other decisions of the church; for the precedence of cardinals over bishops has a certain parity with that of the archdeacons in old times over priests, which very example is brought forward by Eugene IV. in 1431 to convince Henry, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had a falling out with Cardinal John of Santa Balbina: "Quoniam in hujusmodi prælationibus officium ac dignitas, sive jurisdictio, præponderat ordini,

* Cenni gives it as here from a precious Veronese MS.; but Gratian, in the *Decretum* (dist. 79, can. 5), read *filiorum;* yet this does not materially alter the text.

quemadmodum jure cautum est ut archidiaconus, non presbyter suæ jurisdictionis obtentu, archipresbytero præferatur" (*Bullarium Romanum*, tom. iii.) But we could bring a more cogent example from the modern discipline of the church. A vicar-general, although only *tonsured*, outranks (within the diocese) all others, because, as canonists say, *unam personam cum episcopo gerit;* with as much justice, therefore, a cardinal, who is a member of the Pope, whose diocese is the world, precedes all others (we speak of ecclesiastical rank) within mundane limits. There is one example, particularly, in ecclesiastical history that shows us how important was the influence of the Roman cardinals in the whole church, and how great was the deference paid to them by bishops. After the death of St. Fabian, in the year 250, the priests and deacons—cardinals—of Rome governed the church for a year during the vacancy of the see, and meanwhile wrote to St. Cyprian, bishop, and to the clergy of Carthage, in a manner that could only become a superior authority, as to how those should be treated who, having lapsed from the faith during the persecution, now sought to be reconciled. The holy bishop answered respectfully in an epistle (xxth, edition *Lipsiæ*, 1838), in which he gave them an account of his acts and of the government of the diocese. Pope Cornelius testifies that the letters of the cardinals were sent to all parts to be communicated to the bishops and churches (Coustant, *Ep. RR. PP.*, x. 5). It is also very remarkable that in the General Council of Ephesus, in 431, of Pope Celestine's three legates, the cardinal-priest preceded the two others, although bishops, and before them signed the acts. Those who say the Breviary according to the Roman calendar are familiar with the fact that at an indefinitely early age the cardinals were created (just as

now) before the bishops of various dioceses were named ; hence those familiar words : "Mense decembri creavit presbyteros (tot), diaconos (tot), *episcopos per diversa loca* (tot)."

The importance of a cardinal a thousand years ago can be imagined from the fact recorded by Muratori (*Annali d'Italia*, tom. v. part. i. pag. 55), that when Anastasius had absented himself from his title for five years without leave, and was residing in Lombardy, three bishops went from Rome to try to induce him to return, and the emperors Louis and Lothaire also interposed their good offices to this effect.

Although all cardinals are equal among themselves in the principal things, yet in many points of costume, privilege, local office, and rank there are distinctions and differences established by law or custom, the most important of which follow from the division of the cardinals into three grades—namely, of bishops, priests, and deacons. Although the whole number of suburbicarian sees, of titles and deaconries, amounts to seventy-two (six for the first, fifty for the second, and sixteen for the third class), the membership of the Sacred College is limited since Sixtus V. to the maximum of seventy. There can be no doubt that the episcopal sees lying nearest to, and, so to speak, at the very gates of Rome, have enjoyed from the remotest antiquity some special pre-eminence ; but it is not easy to determine at what epoch their incumbents began to form a part of the body of cardinals. It is certain only that they belonged to it in the year 769. These suburban sees all received the faith from St. Peter himself ; and the tradition of Albano is that St. Clement, who was afterwards Pope, had been consecrated by the apostle and sent there as his coadjutor and auxiliary. The number of these sees was for-

merly seven, but for a long time has been only six. The Bishop of Ostia and Velletri is the first of this order and Dean of the Sacred College. He has the privilege of consecrating the Pope, should he be only in priest's orders when elected, and of wearing the pallium on the occasion.

The titles of the cardinal-priests are fifty, some being held by persons who have been consecrated bishops but have no diocese, or by jurisdictional bishops—*i.e.*, those who are at the head of dioceses and archdioceses. The most illustrious, though not the oldest, of these is St. Lawrence in Lucina, which is called the first title, and gives its cardinal precedence—other things being equal—in his class.*

In the life of St. Fabian, who reigned in the year 238, we read that he gave the districts of Rome in charge to the deacons: "Hic regiones divisit diaconibus"; and these are supposed to have been the first cardinal-deacons, or regionary cardinals, as they were long called. This order is third in rank, but second in point of time when it was admitted into the Sacred College. The number of cardinal-deacons became fourteen (one for each of the civil divisions of the city) towards the end of the sixth century, under the pontificate of St. Gregory the Great. In the year 735 Pope Gregory III. added four and raised the number to eighteen, which was reduced under Honorius II., in the beginning of the twelfth century, to sixteen. After various other mutations of number it was fixed as at present. Until the pontificate of Urban II. in 1088 these cardinals were denominated by the name of their district or region, except those added by Gregory III., who were called pala-

* In *society* the Cardinal Secretary of State takes precedence of all his brethren, even though he be only a deacon.

tines. After the eleventh century they were called from the name of their deaconries. St. Mary in Via Lata is the first deaconry. The cardinal-deacons are often in priests' orders ; but in this case they cannot celebrate Mass in public without a dispensation from the Pope, but they can say it in their private chapel in presence of their chaplain. In early times cardinal-deacons held a position of very singular importance, and the Pope was frequently chosen from their restricted class. Even now some of the highest positions at Rome are occupied by them.

Although a cardinal is created either a cardinal-priest or a cardinal-deacon, there is a mode of advancement even to the chief suburbicarian see. This is called, in the language of the Curia, *option*, or the expressing a wish to pass from one order to a higher, or from one deaconry, title, or see to another. The custom is comparatively recent, and was looked upon at first with considerable disfavor. It owes its origin to the schism which Alexander V. attempted to heal in 1409 by forming one body of his own (the legitimate) and of the pseudo-cardinals of the anti-Pope Benedict XIII. As there were two claimants to the several deaconries, titles, and sees, he proposed to settle the dispute by permitting one of them in succession to optate to the first vacant place in his order. What was meant as a temporary measure became an established custom under Sixtus IV. (1471–1484). If a cardinal-bishop be too infirm to perform episcopal duties in the see which he already fills, Urban VIII. decreed that he cannot pass to another one. If a cardinal-deacon obtain by option a title before he has been ten years in his own order, he must take the lowest place among the priests ; but if after that period, he takes precedence of all who have been created in

either of the two orders since his elevation. The favor of option is asked of the Pope in the consistory held next after a vacancy has occurred, by the cardinal proposing such a change. The prefect of pontifical ceremonies having previously assured himself that no cardinal outranking the postulant contemplates the same, the cardinal-priest—to give an example from this order—rises and says : "Beatissime Pater, si sanctitati vestræ placuerit dimisso titulo N. transitu ex ordine presbyterali ad episcopalem, opto ecclesiam N.," naming his title and the suburbicarian see that he seeks to occupy.

These three orders of cardinals certainly had a corporate character at an early period, and formed what the ancients called a college with its officers and by-laws; but Arnulf, Bishop of Lisieux in the tenth century, was the first to call them collectively *Collegium Sanctorum ;* hence in all languages it is now called the Sacred College. A proof that the cardinals acted together in a public capacity, and of their exalted dignity, is that they are termed *Proceres clericorum* by Anastasius in the *Life of St. Leo III.* In olden times cardinals were strictly obliged to reside near the Pope ; and a Roman council, composed of sixty-seven bishops, held in 853 under St. Leo IV., sat in judgment upon and deposed the cardinal-priest of St. Marcellus for having contumaciously absented himself during a long time from his title. This obligation of residence in the house or palace annexed to the title or the deaconry was somewhat relaxed in the twelfth century, when bishops of actual jurisdiction began to be created cardinals. The first example of a bishop governing a diocese who was made a cardinal is that of Conrad von Wittelsbach, of the since royal house of Bavaria, Archbishop of Mentz, who was raised to this dignity by Alexander III. in 1163.

Innocent III., however, refused a petition of the good people of Ravenna to let them have a certain cardinal for their archbishop, saying that he was more useful to Rome and to the church at large where he was than he could possibly be in any other position. At this period, and until a considerable time after, it was very rare that a bishop was made a cardinal without having to resign his diocese and reside *in curia*.

Leo X. was so strict in his ideas of the duty of cardinals to live near him that he issued a bull renewing the obligation in very strong terms; and in 1538 it was proposed to Paul III. to draw up a plan of reform making it incompatible to govern a diocese and be at the same time a cardinal, except in the case of the Fathers of the First Order, who, from the nearness of their sees to Rome, could perform their service to the Pope as his councillors and assistants, and not neglect the faithful over whom they were placed (Natalis Alexander, *Hist. Eccl.*, tom. xvii. art. 16). However, no such stringent rule was adopted, and a cardinal might be this and govern a diocese, if he made it his place of habitual residence, according to the decree of the Council of Trent (Session xxiii., on Ref., ch. 1).

Of the virtue, learning, and other qualities required in a cardinal of the Holy Roman Church, SS. Peter Damian and Bernard have written eloquently, and Honorius IV., of the great family of Savelli, once so powerful in Rome, was inexorable against unworthy subjects, saying that "he never would raise to the Roman purple any save good and wise men." Different popes have made excellent laws on these matters and others connected with the cardinalate; but in some cases they have been disregarded, especially those about age and about there not being two near relatives in the Sacred

College at the same time. The practice of the last hundred years has been above cavil, and the abuses of other ages have been exaggerated, partly through malice, and partly from not knowing the secret reasons that popes may have had for creating, for instance, mere youths—royal youths—cardinals, or conferring the high dignity upon members of their own family, or upon men who had nothing to recommend them but the importunate demands of their sovereigns. The hat bestowed upon St. Charles Borromeo by his uncle was productive of more good than all the rest of "nepotism" was able to effect of evil.*

The creation of cardinals is an exclusive privilege of the popes; but they have sometimes granted the prayers of the Sacred College or of sovereign princes asking to have the dignity conferred upon certain subjects. For a long time, especially during the sixteenth century, the governments of France, Spain, Portugal, Poland, and the republic of Venice were favored by being permitted to name once in each pontificate a candidate for the cardinalate. This was called a crown nomination. Clement V. is said (Cancellieri, *Mercato*, p. 105, note 3) to have been the first to grant to princes the right of petitioning for a hat; and the sultan Bajazet II. wrote on 28th September, 1494, to Alexander VI., begging him to make a perfect cardinal of Nicholas Cibo, Archbishop of Arles, and cousin of Pope Innocent VIII. Clement XII. in 1732 tendered to James III. (the "Elder Pretender") the nomination of some subject to the cardinalate, and he, like a true Stuart, neglecting his countrymen and

* The late Senator Sumner had the bad taste in one of his furious speeches against the Administration to rake up all the old stories—a veritable *olla-podrida*—about the nepotism of popes. It was a great show of learning obtained by eviscerating encyclopædias.

those who had suffered in his cause, proposed Mgr. Rivera, whom he had taken a liking to for little courtesies shown at Urbino. It has long been a custom for the Pope to promote to this dignity a member of the family or one of that religious order to which his predecessor belonged, from whom he himself received it. The Italians call this a restitution of the hat—*Restituzione di capello.* The number of cardinals has greatly varied at different times. It was generally smaller before than since the sixteenth century. The cardinals could, of course, well be all Romans, as they were in the beginning; but with a change of circumstances the Pontiffs have recognized to some extent the propriety of St. Bernard's suggestive query to Eugene III.: "Annon eligendi de toto orbe, orbem judicaturi?" (*De Consid*, iv. 4). In 1331 John XXII. (himself a Frenchman), being asked by the king to create a couple of French cardinals, replied that two were too many, and that he would make but one, because there were only twenty cardinals in all, and seventeen of them were Frenchmen. In 1352, after the death of Clement VI., the cardinals attempted to restrict the Sacred College to twenty members, on the principle that a dignity profusely conferred is despised—*communia vilescunt;* but Urban VI. found himself constrained, by the course of events at the schism, to create a large number of cardinals, in order to oppose them to the pseudo-cardinals of Clement VII., and at one creation he made twenty-nine, all except three being his own countrymen, Neapolitans; so that the French of another generation were richly paid back for their former preponderance. From this time the membership of the Sacred College gradually increased up to the middle of the sixteenth century. It is much to the credit of Pius II. that when the Sacred College in

1458 remonstrated with him on the number of cardinals, saying that the cardinalate was going down in public estimation, and begged him not to increase its membership to any considerable extent, he told the fathers that as head of the church he could not refuse the reasonable requests of kings and governments in such a matter, but that, apart from this, his honor forbade him to neglect the subjects of other countries than Italy in the distribution of the highest favors in his gift (*Comment. Pii II.*, lib. ii. pp. 129, 130). Leo X., believing himself disliked by many cardinals, added thirty-one of his favorites to their number at a single creation on July 1, 1517, the like of which the court has never seen before or after. It created astonishment and dismay, but it had the desired effect. The Council of Trent ordained (Sess. 24, *De Ref.*, c. i.) concerning the subjects of the cardinalate that "the Most Holy Roman Pontiff shall, as far as it can be conveniently done, select (them) out of all the nations of Christendom, as he shall find persons suitable." This is not to be understood, however worded, as more than a recommendation to the Pope. Paul IV. (Caraffa, 1555–59), a great reformer, after consulting the Sacred College and after long discussions, issued a bull called the Compact—*Compactum*—in which he decreed that the cardinals should not be more than forty; but his immediate successor, Pius IV. (Medici), acting on the principle that one Pope cannot bind another in disciplinary matters, created forty-six. Sixtus V. in 1585 fixed the number at seventy in imitation of the seventy elders chosen to assist Moses; and since then all the popes have respected this precedent. During the long reign of Pius VII., although, on account of the times, he was unable for many years to hold a consistory, he created in all ninety-eight cardinals, and when he died left ten *in petto*. While, on

the one hand, an excessive number of cardinals would lessen the importance and lower the dignity of the office, yet a very small number has occasioned long and disedifying conclaves, whereby for months, and even years, the Holy See has been vacant, to the great detriment of the church. This was the case four times during the thirteenth century, and, by a coincidence, each time it was after a Pope who was the fourth of his name, viz., Celestine (1241), Alexander (1261), Clement (1269), and Nicholas (1292).

The manner of creating Cardinals has differed in different ages. Moroni * (*Dizionario*, ix. p. 300 et seq.) gives a description of the ancient, the mediæval, and the modern ceremonies used on the occasion. In the earliest period of which there are details we know that the Pope created the cardinals on the ember-days of Advent in the churches of the Station. There were three stages in the proceeding: the first on Wednesday at St. Mary Major's, the second in the Twelve Apostles', and the third in St. Peter's. The subjects of the cardinalate were called out in the first two churches by a lector after the Pope had read the Introit and Collect of the solemn Mass; but in the last one, the Pope himself declared such an one to be elected cardinal-priest, or deacon, by a formula the beginning and essential words of which were: "Auxiliante Domino Deo et Salvatore Nostro Jesu Christo, *eligimus* in ordinem diaconi Sergium (for instance) subdiaconum." The cardinal-elect then received from the Pope "inter missarum solemnia,"

* The Chevalier Gaetano Moroni was a gentleman of the bedchamber to the late Pope. His farraginous work, in one hundred and three volumes, is an inexhaustible source of ecclesiastical erudition; but, as Niebuhr said of Cancellieri's writings, these large octavos contain some things that are important, many things that are useful, and everything that is superfluous.

the necessary Order of the diaconate or priesthood. In those days there was a much stricter connection required between the (sacred) character of a subject and his order in the cardinalate than there now is, when a bishop often belongs to the presbyterial and a priest to the diaconal order. In the Middle Ages cardinals were no longer created during Mass or in church in presence of the people, but at the Pope's residence of the Lateran, before the Sacred College. The season was still the same, and the custom of creating them only on a fast-day of December lasted for over six hundred years.

In the mediæval creations three consistories were held in the Apostolic Palace, of which two were secret and one was public. In the first consistory the Pope deputed two cardinals to go around to the house of every sick or legitimately absent cardinal and get his opinion on these points: Ought there to be a creation? And if so, of how many?

On the return of the deputies the Pope asked the cardinals present the same questions. All voted thereon; and after the votes had been counted, if the Pope saw fit he pronounced that he followed the advice of those who were in favor of a creation—"Nos sequimur consilium dicentium, quod fiant." Then the cardinals voted on the number to be created, and, after the counting of the votes, the Pope said that he followed the advice of those who proposed that six (for instance) should be created—"Nos sequimur consilium dicentium, quod fiant sex." After a recommendation to reflect maturely, and deliberate upon the persons proper to be elected, the consistory broke up. On the Friday following it assembled again, and when two cardinals, sent out for the purpose as on the first day, had returned with the names of those suggested by the absent ones, the Pope command-

ed an empty chair to be brought—"Portetur nuda cathedra." Then the cardinals all stood up behind the two rows of benches that ran down the great *aula consistorialis*, and the senior advanced and, sitting down beside the Pope, was made acquainted in a low voice with the names of those whom the Pope wished to create, and was asked his opinion. "Quid tibi videtur?" As soon as the cardinal had answered, the next one went up, and so on until all had been heard. The Pope then announced the result of this auricular consultation and declared such and such persons created cardinals of the Holy Roman Church. The next day a public consistory was held in which they were solemnly published; after which the elect were introduced and heard an allocution addressed to them by the Pope on the duties and dignity of their office, and received from his hands the large hat, with the designation of their churches. All the cardinals dined that day with the Pope, and in the afternoon the new ones went in grand cavalcade to take possession of their Titles or Deaconries, as the case might be.

In more recent times, that is, about 1646, when Lunadoro wrote his celebrated account of the Roman court,* the manner of creating was almost as at present, except that the now unheard-of Cardinal *Nephew* (who was called in Italian Il cardinale *Padrone*) had a large share in the ceremonies, as he doubtless had a decided influence in the nominations, and that the red *berretta*, or cap, was placed on the head of the elect by the pope himself, with the words *Esto cardinalis*, and the sign of the cross. According to the modern ceremonial, the Ppoe summons a consistory, and, after delivering an appropriate address, asks the cardinals their

* *Relazione della corte di Roma.* The best edition is that published at Rome in 1774, with notes by the learned Jesuit, F. A. Zaccaria.

opinion with the customary (but, since the fifteenth century, rather perfunctory) formula, "What think ye?" Then they rise, take off their caps, and bow assent; whereupon the Pope proceeds to create the new cardinals in the words: "By the authority of Almighty God, of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and of our own, etc."

On account of the present Piedmontese occupation of Rome, the subsequent ceremonial has to be dispensed with in the case of those cardinals who may be there at the time of their elevation to the dignity. Those who are absent receive the lesser insignia of their rank from two papal messengers; one of whom is a layman and member of the Noble Guard,* carrying the *zucchetto*, or skull-cap, the other an ecclesiastic of some minor prelatic rank in the Pope's household,† bringing the *berretta*. If the head of the state be a Catholic, he is permitted to place the cap (brought by the Monsignor ablegate) upon the new cardinal, the function taking place in the royal chapel; but in other countries a bishop or archbishop is appointed by the Pope for the purpose.

At one period, particularly during the sixteenth century, many serious scandals were occasioned by the practice of betting on or against the advancement of certain

* The *Guardia Nobile* is composed of seventy-six members, all gentlemen by birth—a family nobility of at least seventy years being required for the admission of a candidate—who form the body-guard of the Sovereign Pontiff. The present commander is Prince Altieri. The origin of this handsome mounted corps is ascribed to Pope Innocent VIII. in 1484, who formed a select troop of light cavalry called *Equites levis armaturæ*, who were to accompany him wherever he went.

† He is one of the Honorary Private Chamberlains—*Camerieri Segreti Sopra Numerari*—of the reigning Pope. These private chamberlains are not prelates, but their dignity is generally the first step in the *Carriera*. We remember the rebuke administered to a conceited little Marchese at the Accademia Ecclesiastica, who was ridiculing a companion who had just received this appointment, by the late Cardinal de Angelis, Archbishop of Fermo, who reminded him that *he* had begun there.

individuals to the cardinalate, and some who had staked heavily were convicted of resorting to infamous calumnies to hinder the nomination of those against whom they had wagered. Things finally became so outrageous that Gregory XIV., in 1591, issued a bull in which excommunication, *latæ sententiæ*, was pronounced against any one who should presume to wager on the promotion of cardinals (Bul. 4, Gregory XIV. *cogit nos*).

The expression applied to a cardinal of being or of having been reserved *in petto*, means to be created but (for reasons known only to the Pope) not published or promulgated as such. It is not certainly known when this practice began, and the subject has been so often confounded with that of *secret* creation that it is difficult to assign a precise date. The secret creation was simply the creation of a cardinal without the usual ceremonial. It originated with Martin V. (Colonna), probably urged thereto by the jealousies and dangers that still lingered after the great schism of the West was happily ended. The other cardinals were consulted, and notice was given to the honored individual, who was not, however, allowed to assume the distinctive ornaments or the station of his rank. In the *in petto* appointments, only the Pope and perhaps his *Uditore*, or some extremely confidential person bound to secrecy, know the names of those reserved. It is related of a certain prelate, Vannozzi, who was much esteemed by Gregory XIV. for his varied learning and long services, that having been commissioned one day to take note of the names of a few cardinals to be created in the next consistory, he had the satisfaction to be ordered to write his own name in the list. Although bound to secrecy, he was weak enough to give in to the importunate solicitations of the Cardinal Nephew and show him the

paper, which coming to the Pope's ears, he called the prelate and made him erase his name—and that was the end of Vannozzi.

A cardinal created, but reserved *in petto*, if he be subsequently published, takes precedence of all others (in his order) created subsequently, notwithstanding the reservation. If the Pope wish to create and reserve in this manner, after publishing the names of the cardinals created in the ordinary way, he uses the formula : "Alios autem duos (for example) in pectore reservamus arbitrio nostro quandocumque declarandos." It is believed that Paul III. (Farnese, 1534–49) was the first to reserve *in petto ;* and he may have done so to reward attachment to faith and discipline in that heretical age without seeming to do so too openly, which might nurse hypocrisy or make it look as though the hope of an immediate reward rather than a sense of duty kept certain individuals within the fold. The celebrated Jesuit (himself a cardinal) and historian of the Council of Trent, Sforza Pallavicini, gives a curious reason—one that certainly shows how great was the idea entertained in his day, the middle of the seventeenth century, of the Roman cardinalate—why the expression *creation* of a cardinal is officially used ; and says (vol. i. p. xiii.) that it is meant to intimate by the word that the excellence of the dignity is so exalted that all degrees of inferior rank are as though they were not ; so that when the Pope makes a man a cardinal, it is as if in the sphere of honors he called him out of non-existence into being.

In the first consistory held, in which the newly-created cardinals appear, the Pope performs on them the ceremony of Sealing the Lips (more literally of Closing the Mouth). It is done in the following formula :

"Claudimus vobis os, ut neque in consistoriis neque in congregationibus aliisque functionibus cardinalitiis sententiam vestram dicere valeatis." At the end of the consistory, when the junior cardinal-deacon rings a little bell, the Pope unseals their lips by saying (in Latin): "We open your mouths, that in consistories, congregations, and other ecclesiastical functions ye may be able to speak your opinion. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen"; making over them meanwhile three times the sign of the cross. This custom must be pretty old, for it is mentioned in the thirteenth century by Cardinal (Stefaneschi) Gaetani, nephew of Pope Boniface VIII., as already in existence. It has been conjectured that the intention of such a ceremony was to pass the newly-created cardinals through a kind of novitiate before receiving what is called, in canon law, the active and passive voice, *i.e.*, the right of electing and of being elected to the pontificate; but it may also have been intended to impress upon them the necessity of prudence and modesty of speech in the august assemblies of their order.

The College of Cardinals is the seed and germ of the Papacy, and the greatest act that one of its members can perform is to take part in a papal election. This is done in a convention called the *Conclave*, which is subject to many regulations, as becomes so important an occasion. The present order of this assembly dates from the pontificate of Gregory XV., in 1621. When Rome was not occupied by some sacrilegious invader, it took place in the Quirinal Palace by secret voting, the votes being opened and counted in a chapel called, from the circumstance, *Capella Scrutinii*. When the election was complete, the senior cardinal-deacon, whose office corresponds to that of the ancient archdeacons of the

Roman Church, announced it to the people. Originally, however, the cardinals were not the only electors of the Pope, but any foreign bishop in communion with the Holy See, who happened to be present during a vacancy, was permitted to take part in the election. Thus, when Cornelius was exalted to the Chair of Peter, in 254, sixteen such bishops, of whom two were from Africa, concurred in the act. The rest also of the Roman clergy had some voice in the election, but it was greatly weakened by Pope Stephen III. *alias* IV., in a council held at the Lateran in the year 769, who made it obligatory to elect a member of the Sacred College. Alexander III., by the advice and with the approval of the eleventh General Council (third of Lateran), in 1179, considering the difficulties arising out of a great number of electors (no less than thirty-three schisms having already been occasioned thereby), solemnly decreed that in future the cardinals alone should have the right to choose, confirm, and enthrone the Pope, and that two-thirds of the votes cast would be necessary for a canonical election. Lucius III., his successor in 1181, was the first Pope elected in this manner by the exclusive action of the Sacred College. This wise provision was confirmed for the edification of the faithful, and to show that the bishops dispersed throughout the church did not claim any share in the election of its head, by the general councils of Lyons (second) in 1274 and Vienne in 1311. But once since have any others had an active voice in the matter, which was at Constance, when the twenty-three cardinals, to put an end to the schism, opened the conclave for this time only to thirty prelates, six from each of the five great nations represented there. This resulted in the election of Martin V. (Colonna) on November 11, 1417. Since the year 1378 no one not a cardinal has

been elected Pope; but before that time a good many, despite the decree of Stephen III. (or IV.), were elected without being cardinals: six in the eleventh, two in the twelfth, three in the thirteenth, and three in the fourteenth century. Of these were St. Celestine V. and, before him, Blessed Gregory X. A curious circumstance attended the election of the latter, in which the cardinals were treated as jurymen who are locked up until they agree upon a verdict. After the death of Clement IV., in 1269, the Holy See was vacant longer than ever before—viz., two years, nine months, and two days—on account of the dissensions of the eighteen cardinals who composed the Sacred College. The conclave was held at Viterbo; but, although King Philip III. of France and Charles I. of Sicily went there to hasten the election, and St. Bonaventure, general of the Franciscans, induced the townspeople to keep the fathers close prisoners in the episcopal palace, nothing availed, until the happy thought struck Raniero Gatti, captain of the city, to take off the roof, so that the rain would pour in on wet, and the sunshine on hot days.* This had the desired effect, and after St. Philip Benitius, general of the Servites, had refused the offer of his own election, the cardinals promptly agreed upon Theobald Visconti, archdeacon of Liege, and apostolic legate in Syria. It was on this occasion that an episcopal quasi-poet improvised the leonine verses:

"Papatus munus tulit Archidiaconus unus,
Quem Patrem Patrum fecit discordia Fratrum."

About this time it became customary for the cardinals to act as "protectors" of nations, religious orders, uni-

* This strange proceeding of the belted custodian of the conclave is confirmed by a document which was issued by the cardinals on the 8th of June—"In palatio discooperto episcopatus Viterbiensis" (Macri, *Hierolexicon*).

versities, and other great institutions, which were liable to be brought into relations with the Holy See more frequently then than at present; but Urban VI., in 1378, without absolutely prohibiting this species of patrocination, forbade cardinals to accept gifts or any kind of remuneration from those whose interests they guarded. Martin V. in 1424, Alexander VI. in 1492, and Leo X. in 1517 issued various decrees to moderate or entirely abolish such an use of their influence by the cardinals for private parties, because it might easily, under certain circumstances, stand in the way of that impartial counsel to the Pope and equity of action to which they were bound before all things. Yet it shows the immense importance of the cardinalate in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, that powerful sovereigns gave to individuals in the Sacred College the high-sounding title of protectors of their kingdoms. At the present day cardinals are allowed to assume, gratuitously, a care of the interests of religious orders, academies, colleges, confraternities, and other institutions, mostly in Rome, which may choose to pay them the compliment of putting themselves under their patronage.

In the ninth century, St. Leo IV. made a rule that the cardinals should come to the apostolic palace twice a week for consistory, and John VIII., towards the end of the same century, furthermore ordered them to meet together twice a month to treat of various affairs appertaining to their office. We find here the beginning of those celebrated assemblies called Roman Congregations, which are permanent commissions to examine, judge, and expedite the affairs of the church throughout the world. Each cardinal is made a member of four or more of these congregations, and a cardinal is generally at the head—with the name of prefect—

of each of those the presidency of which the Pope has not reserved to himself. It is always from among the cardinals that the highest officials of the church in Rome and of the Sacred College are chosen. The former are the palatine cardinals, so called because they are lodged in some one of the pontifical palaces and enjoy the fullest share of the sovereign's confidence and favor. They are at present four in number, viz., the pro-datary, secretary of briefs, of memorials, of state. Next come the cardinal vicar, grand penitentiary, chamberlain, vice-chancellor, librarian. The cardinal-archpriests are at the head of the three great patriarchal basilicas of St. John of Lateran, St. Mary Major, and St. Peter. The officials of the Sacred College number five, who are all, except one, *ex-officio;* these are: the dean, who is always Bishop of Ostia and Velletri, is head of the Sacred College, and represents it on certain occasions of state, as when he receives the first visit of princes and ambassadors, and expresses to the Holy Father any sentiments that he and his colleagues may wish to announce in a body. The sub-dean supplies his place when absent, or incapacitated from whatever cause. The First Priest and First Deacon, who were anciently called the Priors of their order, have precedence, other things being equal, over those of the same class, besides certain rights and privileges of particular importance during a vacancy of the see. The chamberlain is appointed annually in the first consistory held after Christmas. His office is not so venerable or so significant as the others are in times of extraordinary occurrences; but in days of peace it is of the highest practical importance. It was instituted under Leo X., but received its present development under Paul III., in 1546. Each cardinal habitually residing in Rome must serve in his turn, beginning with the dean

and ending with the junior deacon. From this arrangement it may be imagined that few cardinals live long enough in the dignity to have to assume more than once the rather onerous duties of the office.

The Pope gives the chamberlain possession of his office in the same consistory at which he has been named to it, by handing him a violet silk purse fringed with gold and containing certain consistorial papers and the little balls used by the cardinals to vote with in the committees in which they treat of their corporate affairs. The principal duties of the chamberlain are of a two-fold character: as chancellor, to sign and register all cardinalitial acts, and as treasurer, to administer any property that may be held in common by the cardinals. He is assisted in his office by a very high prelate, who is secretary of the Sacred College and consistory. The archives are in a chamber of the Vatican palace assigned for the purpose by Urban VIII., in 1625. The chamberlain is also charged to sing the Mass at the solemn requiem of a cardinal dying during his tenure of office, and on November 5 for all deceased cardinals. But if he be of the order of deacons, even if he have received the priesthood, he must invite a cardinal of the higher order to officiate. This anniversary was established by Leo X. in 1517.

On account of the great antiquity of the cardinalate, there are many things of minor importance connected with it that are buried in the obscurity of ages. Such are appellations of honor and distinctions in dress; but all writers agree that after the ninth century there was a remarkable increase in what we might call the accessories of this great office. Passing over a decree which Tamagna (who yet is an authority on cardinalitial matters) ascribes to the Emperor Constantine, in

which the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church were put on the same footing before the state with senators and consuls, and received other marks of imperial favor, it is certain that during the Middle Ages they were frequently called senators, and that a cardinal was styled *Dominus*, and addressed as *Venerande Pater*, as we learn from a memorandum drawn up by a Roman canonist in 1227. In the accounts of the Sacred College from the beginning of the fourteenth century up to the year 1378, the cardinals are called *Reverendi Patres et Domini.* But from this period they assumed the superlative, and up to the whole of the fifteenth century were styled *Reverendissimi.** Urban VIII., on the 10th of June, 1630, gave them the title of Eminence, which was not, however, unknown to the early Middle Ages, when it was given to certain great officers of the Byzantine Empire in Italy. Urban's immediate successor, Innocent X., forbade cardinals to use any other designation than that of cardinal, or title than that of eminence, or to put any crown, coronet, or crest above their arms, which were to be overarched by the hat alone. When Cardinal de' Medici read the decree, he requested his friends and the members of his household never to call him Highness any more, and immediately had the grand-ducal crown removed from wherever it was blazoned over his escutcheon. This plain act of obedience was considered to be something quite extraordinary in such a personage. In course of time, however, cardinals of imperial or royal lineage were allowed to assume a style expressive of their birth; thus the last of the Stuarts, the Cardinal Duke of York, etc., was always called

* Our English distinction of Very, Right, and Most Reverend is unknown in good Latin. *Admodum Reverendus* is barbarous and repudiated by the *stylus curiæ.*

Royal Highness at Rome. The Pope writes to a cardinal bishop as "Our venerable brother," but to a cardinal-priest or deacon as "Our beloved son"; and a cardinal writing to the Pope who has raised him to the purple should add at the end of his letter, after all the other formulas of respectful conclusion, the words, *et creatura*. Although the cardinals hold a rank so exalted, they are in many ways made to remember their complete dependence in ecclesiastical matters upon the Sovereign Pontiff. There is a peculiar act of homage due by them to the Pope, which is called *Obedience*, and consists in going up publicly one by one in stately procession, with *cappa magna* of royal ermine, and trailing scarlet robe, to kiss the ring after making a profound inclination to the pontiff sitting on his throne. This is the grandest sight of the Sistine Chapel, and a good reminder to those most eminent spiritual princes that, how great soever they may be, they are after all but the rays of a greater luminary without which they would have no existence. The obedience is done at Mass and Vespers; but never twice on the same day, nor in services for the dead.

The color of a cardinal's dress is red, unless he belong to a religious order, in which case he retains that of his habit, but uses the same shape of dress as the others. In 1245, Innocent IV. conferred upon the cardinals at the first Council of Lyons the famous distinction of the red hat, which is so peculiarly the ornament of their rank that, in common parlance, to "receive the hat" is the same as to be raised to the cardinalate. The special significance of the hat is, that it is placed by the hands of the Pope himself upon the dome of thought and seat of that intellect by which the cardinal will give learned and loyal counsel in the government of the church; and its

color signifies that the wearer is prepared to lose the last drop of his blood rather than betray his trust. Our readers will be reminded here of that angry vaunt of Henry VIII. about Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, who was lying in prison because he would not acknowledge the royal supremacy in matters of religion. When news came to England that Paul III. had raised him to the purple, the king exclaimed, "The Pope may send him the hat, but I will take care that he have no head to wear it on"; in fact, the bishop was shortly afterwards beheaded. This hat is now one of ceremony only, and serves but twice: once, when the cardinal receives it in consistory, and next when it rests upon the catafalque at his obsequies. It is then suspended from the ceiling of the chapel or aisle of the church in which he may be buried. The form is round, with a low crown and wide, stiff rim, from the inside of which hang fifteen tassels attached in a triangle from one to five. At the ceremony of giving the hat the Pope says, in Latin: "Receive for the glory of Almighty God and the adornment of the Holy Apostolic See, this red hat, the sign of the unequalled dignity of the cardinalate, by which is declared that even to death, by the shedding of thy blood, thou shouldst show thyself intrepid for the exaltation of the blessed faith, for the peace and tranquillity of the Christian people, for the increase and prosperity of the Holy Roman Church. In the name of the Father ✠ and of the Son ✠ and of the Holy ✠ Ghost. Amen." Paul II., in 1464, added other red ornaments, and among them the red *berretta* or cap to be worn on ordinary occasions; but cardinals belonging to religious orders continued to use the hood of their habit, or a cap of the same color, until Gregory XIV. made them wear the red. This point of costume is illustrated by an anecdote which

we have heard from an eye-witness; it also shows that one should not be sure of promotion—until it comes.

Pope Gregory XVI. was a great admirer of a certain abbot in Rome, whose habit was white, and rumor ran that he would certainly be made a cardinal. Some time before the next consistory the Pope, with a considerable retinue—it was thought significantly—went to visit the monastery the father of which was this learned monk, and there refreshments were served in the suite of apartments called, in large Roman convents, the cardinal's rooms, because reserved for the use of that dignitary, should one be created belonging to the order. When the trays of delicious pyramidal ice-creams were brought in, the Pope deliberately took the *white* one presented to him on bended knee by a chamberlain and handed it to the Lord Abbot sitting beside and a little behind him, then took a *red* one for himself. No one, of course, began until Gregory had tasted first, and while all eyes were on him he took the top off his own ice-cream, turned and put it on his neighbor's, saying with a smile as he looked around him, "How well, gentlemen, the red *caps* the white!" Alas! the poor abbot; he understood it, as doubtless was meant he should, but he was foolish enough to act upon it and procure his scarlet outfit. This came to the ears of the Pope, who was so displeased that he scratched him off the list, nor could any friends ever get him reinstated; and it was only when Cardinal Doria said that he was positively wasting away with the disappointment and mortification that the Pope consented to make him an archbishop *in partibus*.

In the greater chapels, in the grand procession on Corpus Christi, and on other occasions the cardinal-bishops wear copes fastened by a pectoral jewel called *Formale*, which is of gold ornamented with three pine

cones of mother-of-pearl, the priests (even though they may have the episcopal character) wear chasubles, and the deacons dalmatics, but all use white *damask* mitres with red fringes at the extremity of the bands. In their Titles and Deaconries, also elsewhere, when they officiate, the cardinals have the use of pontificals. The custom of wearing mitres is said to have begun for cardinals of the two lower orders only in the eleventh century. One of the distinctive ornaments of a cardinal is the gold ring set with a sapphire, and engraved on the metal surface of the inside with the arms of the Pope who has created him. It is put on his finger by the Sovereign Pontiff with these words, some of which are omitted in the case of deacons: "For the honor of Almighty God, of the holy apostles SS. Peter and Paul, and of the blessed N. N. (naming the Title) we commit unto thee the church of —— (naming it), with its clergy, people, and succursal chapels." The actual value of this ring is only twenty-five dollars, but for many centuries the newly-created cardinal has been expected to give a large sum of money for some pious purpose, which was different under different popes, but was perpetually allotted by Gregory XV., in 1622, to the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. Students of the Propaganda will remember the elegant tablet and commemorative inscription originally set up in the college church, but now encased in the wall near the library. For a long time the sum was larger than at present and was paid in gold, but in consideration of the general distress in the early part of this century Pius VII. reduced it to six hundred scudi of silver, equal to about seven hundred and fifty dollars of our paper money. The last cardinal who gave the full amount before the reduction was Della Somaglia, in 1795.

The Roman ceremonial shows the singular importance of the cardinalate, by the disposition ordered to be made of its members even after death. It is prescribed that when life has departed a veil be thrown over the face, and the body, dressed in chasuble if bishop or priest, otherwise in dalmatic, shall lie in state. The hat used in his creation must be deposited at his feet, and, after his funeral, be suspended over his tomb. His body must be laid in a cypress-wood coffin in presence of a notary and his official family, a member of which—the majordomo—lays at his feet a little case containing a scroll of parchment on which has been written a brief account of the more important events of his life. Then the first coffin is enclosed in another of lead, and the two together in a third one of some kind of precious wood, each coffin having been sealed with the seals of the dead cardinal and of the living notary. The body thus secured is borne by night, with funeral pomp of carriages and torches and long array of chanting friars, to the church of requiem, where it remains until the day appointed for the Mass, at which the cardinals and Pope are present, and the latter gives the final absolution. Since the occupation of Rome by the Italian government these grand obsequies have had to be dispensed with.

When carriages first came into use in Italy, which was about the year 1500, they were considered effeminate and a species of refined luxury, so much so that Pius IV., at a consistory held on November 27, 1564, in a grave discourse exhorted the cardinals not to use a means of conveyance fit only for women, but to continue to come to the palace in the virile manner that had been so long the custom—that is, on horseback; and reminded them that when the Emperor Charles V. returned into Spain from his visit to Italy, he had said

that no sight pleased him there so much as the magnificent cavalcade of the cardinals on their way to the chapels and consistories. After this they always rode or were carried in litters or sedan-chairs, until the beginning of the seventeenth century, when it became impossible any longer to hinder them from using the new and more convenient style which had become general for all persons of quality. Urban VIII., in 1625, by ordering cardinals to put scarlet head-gear on their horses, seemed to sanction the change; but it appears to have been abused, by some at least, in a manner described by Innocent XI. (1676), in a pathetic address, as ill becoming those who had renounced the pomps and vanities of the world. We may get an idea of the ostentation when we know that but a few years previously Maurice of Savoy (who afterwards by permission renounced the cardinalate for reasons of state) used to go to the Vatican with a following of two hundred splendid equipages and a numerous escort of horsemen in brilliant uniforms. The modern custom (which has been interrupted by the Italian usurpers) is certainly very modest.

The cardinals proceed to the minor functions with a single carriage and two on gala days, but princes by birth have three. Each carriage is red, finished with gilt ornaments, and drawn by a pair of superb black horses from a particular breed of the Campagna. The scarlet umbrella carried by one of the somnolent footmen behind the coach is seldom taken out of its cover, being merely a reminiscence of the old fashion when their Eminences rode, and it might be of service against the rain or the sun.*

* We should not say that it is *merely* a reminiscence of an old fashion, because the umbrella, which was introduced into Europe from Oriental courts—

"When Eastern monarchs show their state abroad"—

was long considered a sign of privileged rank. It is still so considered in the King-

Cardinals belonging to a religious order of monks or friars who wear beards retain them after their exaltation; but others must be clean shaven. There have been considerable changes in this matter, and cardinals wore no beards in the fifteenth century. In fact, the long, silky, and well-cultivated beard of Bessarion (a Greek) lost him the election to the Papacy after the death of Nicholas V., in 1455. It was also the occasion of his death with chagrin at an atrocious insult offered him by Louis XI. of France; for being on an embassy to compose the differences between that monarch and the Duke of Burgundy, he wrote to the latter stating the object of his mission before having made his visit to the former, which so enraged that punctilious king that when the legate came the first thing he did was to pull his magnificent beard and say:

"Barbara græca genus retinent quod habere solebant." *

Under the pontificate of Julius II., who gave the example, cardinals wore long beards; but in the next century only moustaches and *la barbetta* (the "goatee")—varied among the more rigid by just a little bit beneath the under lip, and called a *mouche* by the French—were retained until, in the year 1700, Clement XI. introduced the perfectly beardless face which now shows itself under the *berretta* (Cancellieri, *Possessi de' Papi*, page 327).

Not to mention St. Lawrence, who is generally

dom of Siam. St. Francis Xavier, on his first visit to Japan, refused to allow an *umbrella* (or parasol) to be carried before him in the procession to the palace of the King of Boungo, until convinced that the use of this mark of honor would be important for the interests of religion. See Paciaudi, *De Umbellæ gestatione*, Rome, 1752.

* However "ben trovato" this anecdote may be, it is one of Brantôme's lies. See Vast, *Le Cardinal Bessarion*, p. 418 et seq. Paris, 1878.

reckoned an archdeacon (*i.e.*, cardinal first deacon) of the Roman Church, or St. Jerome, in vindication of whose cardinalate Ciacconius wrote a special treatise (Rome, 1581), the Sacred College counts among its members fifteen saints either canonized or beatified. The first is St. Peter Damian, in 1058, and the last Blessed Pietro-Maria Tommasi, in 1712. The cardinals have the privilege of a *Proprium* for these in the Office. There are besides nine others popularly venerated as Blessed, but without special warrant from the Holy See that we are aware of. The noblest families of Europe, imperial, royal, and of lower rank, have been represented in the Sacred College, those of Italy, of course, preponderating; and no other one, we believe, has had so many cardinals as that of Orsini, which claims over forty-two, beginning with Orsino, cardinal-priest A.D. 500. Yet merit has never been refused a place among its members because it made no "boast of heraldry" or other pretension to social superiority. Where so many have been distinguished in a very high degree, it is difficult to select half a dozen names from as many different nations that have been represented in the Sacred College, and that stand out above all the rest in their several countries. Among the Germans, Nicholas de Cusa, in 1448, is superior to all others for his intrepid defence of the Holy See and his immense learning, especially in mathematics. He discovered the annual revolution of the earth around the sun before Copernicus or Galileo were born. Among the Spaniards, Ximenes, in 1507, is easily chief, as a minister of state and encourager of education. In England, Wolsey, created by Leo X. in 1515, although Panvinius (*Epitome*, p. 377) insolently calls him "the scum and scandal of the human race," is the greatest figure and needs no praise. In Scotland,

Beaton is first as state minister and patron of learning. He was put to death in hatred of the faith which could not be subverted while he lived. Among the Italians, Bellarmine may be placed first ; certainly no other cardinal has filled so often and so long the minds of the adversaries of the faith. Clement VIII., in 1599, when he created him, said that there was no one his equal for learning in all the church. In France, Richelieu, the greatest prime minister that ever lived, and the saviour of the government and the church by effectually putting down the rebellious Huguenots, is undoubtedly the fittest representative of the cardinalate in his country. Everything that is good and very little, comparatively, that is bad has been found in the Sacred College ; but lest we should be thought to flatter, we will give a few examples that show how no body of men is entirely above reproach. Moroni has a special article on pseudo-cardinals and another on cardinals who have been degraded from their high and sacred office. We say nothing of the former, or we would be led into an interminable essay on the ambition, intrigue, and schisms that have disgraced individuals and injured the church. Boniface VIII. was obliged to degrade and excommunicate the two turbulent Colonnas, uncle and nephew ; but doing penance under his successor, they were restored. Julius II. and Leo X. had difficulties with some of their cardinals, and one of them, Alfonso Petrucci, for conspiring against the sovereign, was decapitated in Castle Sant' Angelo on July 6, 1517. Odet de Coligni, who had been made a cardinal very young at the earnest request of Francis I., afterwards embraced Calvinism, and, as usual with apostates, embraced something else besides. Although he had thrown off his cassock, yet when Pius IV. pro-

nounced him degraded and excommunicated, he resumed it, out of contempt, long enough to get married in his red robes. Cardinals Charles Caraffa* and Nicholas Coscia† in Italy; de Rohan‡ of the Diamond Necklace affair, and de Loménie de Brienne§ in France, while on the one hand they have not been what we would expect from those so greatly honored, on the other they give us proofs of the impartial justice of the popes, and that no one in their eyes is above the law. Among the curiosities of the cardinalate is that of Ferdinand Taverna, Bishop of Lodi, who was raised to the purple in 1604, and immediately died of joy. This reminds us that Cancellieri, with his usual singularity of research, has a passage in his work on the *Enthronement of the Popes* about "persons who have gone mad or died of grief because they were not made cardinals," and tells of one in particular who hoped to make his way by his reputation for learning, and had a little red hat hung up above his desk to keep himself perpetually in mind of the prize he was ambitiously seeking—and, of course, never found. Poor human nature! The importance of the telegraph as a means of avoiding inconvenient nominations is shown by a good many cases of men elevated to the cardinalate when they were already dead. Three occurred in the fourteenth century; but as late as 1770 Paul de Carvalho, brother of the infamous

* Betrayed his uncle Paul IV., was tried by eight of his peers and condemned to death.

† Abused the confidence of Benedict XIII.; condemned by Clement XII. to a fine of two hundred thousand crowns, to loss of all dignities, and ten years' imprisonment.

‡ He purged himself and was reinstated in the cardinalate; seems to have been more of a dupe than a rogue.

§ Deprived of his dignity by Pius VI. on Sept. 21, 1791, for taking the schismatical civil oath of the French clergy.

Pombal, was published (having been reserved *in petto*) on January 20, three days after he had expired.

The Orsini are noted for their longevity, and it has shown itself in the cardinals as well as in others of the family. Giacinto Bobò Orsini was made a cardinal at twenty by Honorius II., and, after living through sixty-five years of his dignity and eleven pontificates, was himself elected Pope (being only a deacon) at the age of eighty-five, and reigned for nearly seven years as Celestine III. (1191–1198). Another one, Pietro Orsini, after having three times refused the honor, was at length induced to accept it, wore the purple for fifty-four years, and finally became Benedict XIII. (1724–1730).

Gregory XI., who brought back the see from Avignon, was made a cardinal by his uncle at seventeen; Paul II. by his, at twenty-one; Pius III. by his, at twenty; and Leo X. by his, at fourteen—but not allowed to wear his robes until three years later. The last example, we believe, of a very young cardinal is that of a Spanish Bourbon, Don Luis, created at twenty-three by Pius VII., in 1810; he was permitted afterwards to renounce it. Although exceptions may occasionally be made in future, a mature age has for many pontificates come to be considered absolutely necessary before being raised to the dignity. Artaud de Montor has an anecdote in his *Life of Pius VIII.* about the inexorable Leo XII. in connection with the young Abbé Duc de Rohan-Chabot, a Montmorency, and as such, one would think, quite the equal of an Orsini, Colonna, or the son of any other great Italian family. Whenever Leo was pressed on the subject, and he was urged by many and very influential persons, to confer the dignity upon the princely, learned, and virtuous priest, he had a new Latin verse ready in

praise of him, but always ending with his inevitable youth, as this one, for example: *Sunt mores, doctrina, genus—sed deficit ætas* (*Artaud*, i. p. 205). He was thirty-seven at the time.

We conclude with a few words on the bibliography of the cardinalate. Not to mention the almost innumerable separate lives of cardinals which have been published in all countries, particularly Italy, the greatest work or series of works connected with the subject is undoubtedly that of the Spanish Dominican, Chacon, who wrote a *History of the Popes and Cardinals* up to Clement VIII. His work was corrected and continued by the Italian Jesuit, Oldoini, up to Clement IX. inclusive, all with beautiful portraits and arms. At the request of Benedict XIV., a learned prelate named Guarnacci continued this work to the pontificate of Clement XII. inclusive. It was sumptuously brought out in 1751. There is a continuation of this, containing the whole of Benedict XIV.'s pontificate, and later matter from MSS. left by Guarnacci and from other sources, that appeared in 1787, and is actually (if our memory does not deceive us) rarer at Rome than the other parts of the work, although published so much later. We have understood that there are still some precious MS. collections on the same subject in the possession of the noble Del Cinque family, which are probably waiting for a Mæcenas to accept the dedication before being published. These are the full titles of the works referred to:

Alphonsi Ciacconii, *Vitæ et res gestæ Pontificum romanorum, et S. R. E. Cardinalium ab initio nascentis Ecclesiæ, usque ad Clementem IX., ab Augustino Oldoino recognitæ.* Romæ: 1677 (3d ed., 4 vols. fol.) Mario Guarnacci, *Vitæ et res gestæ Pontificum romanorum, et S. R.*

*E. Cardinalium a Clemente IX. usque ad Clementem XII.* Romæ: 1751 (2 vols. fol.)

*Vitæ et res gestæ summorum Pontificum et S. R. E. Cardinalium ad Ciacconii exemplum continuatæ, quibus accedit appendix, quæ vitas Cardinalium perfecit, a Guarnaccio non absolutas.* Auctoribus Equite Joh. Paulo de Cinque, et Advocato Raphaele Fabrinio. Romæ: 1787.

The best work in Italian is Lorenzo Cardella's *Memorie storiche de' Cardinali della S. Romana Chiesa, incominciando da quelli di S. Gelasio I., sino ai creati da Benedetto XIV.* Roma: 1792.

A recent and probably very excellent work in French is Etienne Fisquet's *Histoire générale des Papes et des Cardinaux.* Chez Etienne Repos, 70 rue Bonaparte, Paris (5 vols. 8vo).

The principal work on the cardinalate in general is by Plati: *De Cardinalis dignitate et officio*, of which a sixth edition was published at Rome in 1836; and an exquisite monograph, small in size (one little volume) but full of research, is Cardinal Nicholas Antonelli's *De Titulis quos S. Evaristus Romanis Presbyteris distribuit, dissertatio.* Published at Rome in 1725; rather rare.

The *Calcografia Camerale*, near the Fountain of Trevi at Rome, used to have for sale at a reasonable price the engraved portraits of all the cardinals from the pontificate of Paul V. (1605–21) to that of Pius IX.; but being an establishment belonging to the papal government, the present occupiers of the city, in their zeal (!) for the fine arts, have turned it upside down.

A collection of portraits in oil colors of all the British Cardinals was begun at the English College in Rome in 1864.

There are at present in the Sacred College five English-speaking Cardinals—viz., Manning, McCloskey,

Howard, Newman, and McCabe. His Eminence Cardinal Howard, of whom we had the honor of being a fellow student at the Accademia *de' Nobili Ecclesiastici* in Rome, is grand-nephew to Bernard-Edward, twelfth Duke of Norfolk and hereditary Earl-Marshal of England. Cardinals Manning, McCloskey, and McCabe are the Archbishops respectively of Westminster, New York, and Dublin. Cardinal Newman is, *inter alia*, that one whose conversion from Protestantism "dealt a blow to the Church of England under which it still reels," as the late Earl of Beaconsfield acknowledged and lamented.

# PAPAL ELECTIONS.

THE succession of the Roman Pontiffs rests on the word of God; other lines of princes may fail, their line shall last until the end of the world. Still, although there will always be a series of legitimate successors in the Papacy, the manner of succession has varied, being left to human prudence, which accommodates itself to times and places, yet ever under an overruling Providence that directs to its own ends no less the vices than the virtues of men.

The election of a Pope is the most important event that takes place in the world. It affects immediately several hundred millions of Catholics in their dearest hopes of religion, and it touches indirectly the interests of all other people on the earth besides. In the Pope the world receives a vicar of Christ, a successor of St. Peter, and an infallible judge in matters of faith and morals. The Papacy was always conferred regularly by way of election—from the chief of the apostles, chosen by our Lord himself, to Leo XIII., now reigning, who was elected by the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church on the 20th of February, 1878. Between these there have been two hundred and sixty-one popes, if we follow the number given by the *Gerarchia Cattolica*, which is published annually at Rome.

On the 25th of July, 1876, our late Holy Father, Pius IX., in a discourse to the students of the several colleges in Rome subject to the Propaganda, took occasion to speak quite earnestly of attempts that were being made

in Italy to unsettle the minds of Catholics on papal elections by teaching that they were originally *popular* ones, and that the natural right of the laity in them (which, it was asserted, had been exercised without question for twelve hundred years) was arbitrarily and unlawfully taken away by Pope Alexander III. The errors of this new schismatical party may be reduced to two points—viz., that the share which the people were once usually allowed to take in the election of sacred ministers was a right and not a privilege accorded by the visible head of the church to ages of faith and fervor; and that Alexander III. deprived the Romans of this right in the election of their chief pastor.

It is an error to maintain that the laity have a strict—*i.e.*, inherent or divine—right to elect their pastors, and historically false to assert that such a right was ever allowed by the rulers of the church or was ever exercised by the Christian people.* The authorities to confirm our statement are so numerous as to cause almost an *embarras de richesses.* Besides the great collections which are the common sources of ecclesiastical erudition—the Fathers, the councils, annals, papal bulls; the Bollandists, and particularly, as regards papal elections, the *Propylæum ad septem tomos Maji;* the works of Thomassin, Gretser, Bellarmine, and others—we may cite here, as bearing more particularly on the antiquarian side of the subject, Selvaggio's *Antiquitatum Christianarum Institutiones*, lib. i. par. i. cap. xxi.; Mamachi's *Origines et Antiquitates Christianæ*, tom. iv. lib. iv.; and Colenzio's *Dissertationi intorno varie Controversie di Storia ed Ar-*

* "In the ordination of bishops, priests, and of the other orders, neither the consent, nor vocation, nor authority, whether of the people or of any civil power or magistrate whatsoever, is required in such wise as that, without this, the ordination is invalid" (Council of Trent, July 15, 1563, ch. 4, sess. xxiii.)

*cheologia Ecclesiastica*, diss. vi. *Del preteso dritto del popolo cristiano nell' elezione dei Sacri Ministri.*

The earliest manner of electing the popes was by the votes of the Roman clergy cast in the presence of the faithful, who assisted as witnesses to the godliness of the subject proposed, and to testify that besides his other merits he was an acceptable person on account, perhaps, of his birth, his nationality, his appearance, or of some other adventitious circumstance which enhanced his popularity with the great body of the people, and would cause him, also, to be looked upon with less disfavor *by them who are without.** Although these elections belonged to the clergy and laity of the Roman Church—or we should say, rather, to the higher clergy and the representatives of the laity—the relative rights or parts of each class of electors were not apparently determined by express enactment, but upon grounds of common sense and equity; such, for instance, as that *Episcopus deligatur, plebe præsente, quæ singulorum vitam plenissime norit, et uniuscujusque actum de ejus conversatione prospexit,*† or that *Nullus invitis detur episcopus,*‡ as Pope Celestine wrote to the bishops of the province of Vienne and Narbonne. Bellarmine,§ Sixtus Senensis,‖ Petrus de Marca,¶ and Thomassin ** prove that the people's part in such elections was more perfunctory than real, since testimony of a man's good repute could be otherwise obtained, and that even an expression of preference was not always heeded; as we learn from the same Pope Celestine, who wrote to the bishops of Apulia and Calabria: *Docendus est populus, non sequendus; nosque si nesciunt, eos quid liceat quidve non liceat, commonere*

* 1 Tim. iii. 7. † Cyprian, Epist. lxvii. ‡ Celestine I., Epist. ii. 5.
§ *De Clericis*, lib. i. cap. vi. ‖ Lib. v. *Biblioth.* ad not. 118.
¶ *De Concord. Sacerd. et Imp.*, lib. viii. cap. ii.
** *Vet. et Nov. Ecclesiæ Discipl.*, par. ii. lib. ii. cap. i.

*non his consensum præbere debemus.** The Roman people, then, did not and could not have, except by usurpation and abuse, a decisive voice in the election of the Pope; for such an act is by God's ordinance placed beyond the jurisdiction of the laity.

After the martyrdom of St. Fabian, in January, A.D. 250, the Holy See remained vacant for a year and a half, until in the month of June, 251, Cornelius was raised to that post of perilous dignity under a tyrant like Decius, who had declared that he would sooner see a new pretender to the empire than another bishop of Rome. This election, although made almost unanimously by all orders, gave rise to the first schism, because Novatian, who headed the rigorous party in the affair of the *Lapsi*, was consecrated bishop and set himself up as anti-Pope. We have an invaluable testimony to the election of St. Cornelius from the pen of St. Cyprian: *Factus est autem Cornelius episcopus de Dei et Christi ejus judicio, de clericorum pæne omnium testimonio, de plebis, quæ tunc adfuit, suffragio et de sacerdotum antiquorum et bonorum virorum collegio, cum nemo ante se factus esset, cum Fabiani locus id est cum locus Petri et gradus cathedræ sacerdotalis vacaret.*† From this passage of the great Bishop of Carthage we can obtain, says Baronius,‡ a tolerably good idea of a papal election in the early ages. Prayers were first offered up to God to obtain his assistance in making a choice; the desire of the faithful, or rather of their representatives, and such testimony to the worth of the subjects proposed as they were prepared to give, was heard; the wish of the Roman clergy, and their willing assent to the proceedings, were inquired into and sought; and after maturely

* Epist. v. † Epist. lv. No. vii., ed. Tauchnitz, Lipsiæ, 1838.
‡ *Apud Wouters, Hist. Eccl. Comp.*, vol. i. p. 65.

weighing the for and against, the bishops of the vicinity, with any others in communion with the Holy See who happened to be in Rome at the time, went into executive session and gave the decisive votes—*in comitiis suffragia ferebant.* With regard to those among the laity who took part in these elections, we must observe that in the beginning, as long as the majority of Christians was composed of persons who had embraced the faith from pure and unworldly motives, whose aim was to behold the church prosperous and glorious, and whose charity, being yet warm, sought not their own end *but that which is another's*,* the whole body of Christians who had reached mature years and belonged to that sex which alone had a voice in the church † gave their testimony and assent in favor of that one whom it was proposed to elect ; ‡ but the evils of anything like a popular election in a great city were so manifest § that attempts were soon made to leave the choice of such on the part both of clergy and laity—but earlier in the case of the latter order—to a select body or committee, a general suffrage being gradually superseded by the votes of approval given by the rich only and the high in station.

We find, perhaps, a germ of this even in the earliest times.‖ The Council of Laodicea (A.D. 365) clearly desired that the choice should be made by some definitely-organized body, and not by a mere mass-meeting ; St. Leo and the Roman council of A.D. 442, and again the former in Epist. lxxxix. cvi., expressly mention the "*Honorati*," the magnates at such elections.¶ The in-

* 1 Cor. x. 24. † 1 Tim. ii. 11.

‡ Cfr. Alzog's *Church Hist.*, Pabisch & Byrne, vol. i. p. 396.

§ See Chrysostom, *De Sacerdotio*, iii. 15.

‖ See Graziani, *Lettera di S. Clemente Primo Papa e Martire ai Corinti, . . . corredata di note critiche e filologiche*, Rome, 1832.

¶ Cfr. Devoti, *Inst. Can.*, lib. i. tit. v. sect. i. par. vii., in note.

fluence of the principal personages in a city was not to be ignored through the clamor of those who too often formed only a mob.* A letter of Pope Cornelius to Fabius, Bishop of Antioch, has fortunately been preserved by Eusebius,† which gives us the exact number of the Roman clergy of every grade, and a clue‡ to what may have been the Christian population of Rome, in the middle of the third century. According to these precious statistics, there were then belonging to the Roman clergy 46 priests, 7 deacons, 7 subdeacons, 42 acolytes, 52 exorcists, readers, and *ostiarii*. Fifteen hundred widows and orphans were provided for by the church, whose children composed an immense population in the capital of the empire. Hence we may rest assured that deliberations for the election of the Roman Pontiff could not have been open to all of either clergy or laity, but must necessarily, in the interests of good order and by reason of the small size of places of public meetings then possessed by the Christians, have been confined to a select few.

The ancient records of the Roman Church reaching back to the beginning of the early middle ages, which have been published by Mabillon and Galletti, show us its clergy divided into three distinct classes—viz., priests, dignitaries, and inferior ministers. The priests were the seven cardinal suburbican bishops and the twenty-eight cardinal-priests; the dignitaries were the archdeacon and the seven palatine judges (prothonotaries-apostolic); the inferior ministers were the subdeacons, acolytes, and notaries without office at court. The laity was likewise divided into three classes—viz.,

* See Augustine, *Epist. clv.;* Synesius, *Epist. lxvii.;* Baronius, *ad an.* 304; Baluze, *Miscell.*, ii. 102.

† *H. E.*, vi. 43.

‡ Compare Tertullian, *Apol.*, xxxvii.

citizens, soldiers, and commoners; *i.e.*, the nobility, the army, and the Third Estate.*

After the death of Pope Zozimus, on the 26th of December, 418, a majority of the clergy and people elected the cardinal-priest Boniface to succeed him. A serious dispute immediately arose. Eulalius, the archdeacon, who, as such, had been practically the most important personage of the Holy See after the Pontiff himself, and felt indignant at having been passed over in the election, held possession of the Lateran Palace, where he was chosen Pope by a few of the clergy, to whose faction, however, *all* the deacons and three bishops belonged.† The fear of future contests suggested to Pope Boniface I., who is described by Anastasius as unambitious, of mild character, and devoted to good works, to obtain from the Emperor Honorius, in the year 420, a rescript by which it was decreed that, in the contingency of a double election, neither rival should be Pope, but that the clergy and people should proceed to another choice. The decree was almost textually inserted in the canon law.‡ This difference between St. Boniface and Eulalius, or rather the latter's schism, gave occasion to the first interference of the secular arm in the election of the Roman Pontiffs. St. Hilary,

* Cfr. Novaes, whose voluminous, erudite, and orthodox work, the *Lives of the Popes*, is enriched with preliminary dissertations on every subject relating to the Papacy and the Cardinalate: *Elementi della Storia de' Sommi Pontefici da San Pietro sino al felicemente regnante Pio Papa VII. . . . raccolti dal canonico Giuseppe De Novaes, patrizio portoghese*, 17 vols. 8vo (exclusive of two of preliminary dissertations—a separate work which the author was not spared to finish), with continuation to Pius VIII. inclusive by Pistolesi and Artaud, 12 vols. 8vo.

† De Rossi, in his *Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana*, *Anno iv.*, Jan.–Feb., 1866, has given the reasons for the preponderating influence which the cardinal-deacons had in the affairs of the church, and for their frequent succession to the Papacy. Indeed, it became in the third and fourth centuries an almost invariable rule to elect the archdeacon to succeed to the chair of St. Peter.

‡ Cap. *Si duo*, viii. dist. lxxix.

who was elected in the year 461, convened a council of forty-eight bishops at Rome, and, among other provisions for filling worthily the Holy See, declared that *no Pope should ever appoint his own successor.* Despite this recent enactment, Boniface II.—in whose favor, however, it must be said that he sought to preclude, as even a greater evil than a passing violation of the canons, the threatened interference of the Gothic king, who wanted to put a partisan on the papal throne—called a council at St. Peter's in the year 531, and there designated the celebrated deacon Vigilius as his coadjutor with future succession. Subsequently, repenting of his action, he called another council, and with his own hand burned the paper appointing him.*

Although the actual naming of his successor by the Pope has never been tolerated, there have been several, and some very opportune, cases in which a Pope on the point of death has recommended a particular person, more or less efficaciously, to the body of electors as one well fitted to succeed to the vacant throne. This was done by St. Gregory VII., who proposed three candidates to the cardinals—namely, Desiderius, Cardinal-Abbot of Monte Casino; Otho, Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia; and Hugh, Archbishop of Lyons—and particularly recommended the election of the first as the only one of the three who was in Italy at the time. Desiderius became Pope Victor III. Other similar, but not always equally successful, recommendations were made by popes of that era. In order finally to put the strongest official check upon the election of his own successor by a Pope, Pius IV., after exposing in consistory his age and infirmities, reminded the cardinals that he was well

* Strange to say, Vigilius did, although not immediately, succeed to the Papacy and is reckoned the sixty-first in the series of pontiffs.

aware how under his predecessor, Paul IV., the question was mooted whether this could be done, and that some theologians and cardinals held to the affirmative,* but that he would pronounce in the negative, and intended to issue a bull—as in fact he did, on the 22d of September, 1561†—declaring that no Pope could do so, even with the consent of the Sacred College. His immediate predecessor had reaffirmed in 1558 an ordinance increasing the penalties of its violation, which had originally been passed over a thousand years before by Pope Symmachus in a council of seventy-two bishops convened at Rome in the year 499, forbidding, under pain of excommunication and loss of all dignities, to treat of a successor during the lifetime of the reigning Pontiff. ‡ From this we learn how some of the best and greatest popes have tried to frame such wise provisions as might assure an untainted election to the Papacy; yet they could not succeed in every case, because even the most stringent laws should be well executed to be effective, and must find docile subjects to obey them. The Romans do certainly appear to have been a stiff-necked people during many generations; but we think it ungenerous continually to throw in their teeth the wretched opinion St. Bernard had of them, as we see by his treatise *De Consideratione*, addressed to Pope Eugene III., and hardly fair in the annalist Muratori to transfer so much of the blame for factious elections from the German emperors to the Roman populace.§

* See the controversy apud Ferraris, *Bibliotheca*, Art. "Papa."

† Const. *Prudentes* in the *Bullar. Rom.*, tom. iv. par. ii. page 90.

‡ Pagi, *Breviarium RR. PP.*, vol. i. p. 129, *in vita Symmachi.*

§ In a curious old ballad sung in low French by the Scotch in the king's service occurs the contemptuous line, *Les Romains bien tout villain mutinail*, although they were themselves most quarrelsome, so that their famous countryman, John Barclay, in describing their character, says of them: *Iracundia in promptu* (*Icon Animorum*, p. 118, Bononiæ MDCLVII.)

The election of the Pope, says Cardinal Borgia,* was perfectly free during the first four centuries, being made by the clergy in presence of the people; but in process of time, as the papal dignity increased in wealth and splendor of temporal authority, it often became an object of human ambition, of which secular rulers were not slow to avail themselves, that by iniquitous bargains and preconcerted plans they might bind, if possible, the priesthood to the empire, and derive the immense advantage of the spiritual power administered by a subject or a dependent prince. The first instance of direct interference by the state in a papal election—for the decision in the case of Boniface and the anti-Pope was an arbitration invited by the church—appears towards the close of the fifth century. Odoacer, a Gothic chief of the tribe of the Heruli, having deposed Romulus Augustulus, in whom the Western Empire came to an end, was proclaimed King of Italy, rejecting the imperial style of Cæsar and Augustus for a title which he expressly created for himself. It would seem —although even this is not beyond dispute—that Pope Simplicius had requested Odoacer, in whom the powers of the state were now vested, to stand ready, in the common interests of order and good government, to repress the civil commotions which he foresaw were likely to arise after his death on the election of a successor. However this may be, the king went beyond a merely repressive measure of police, and, pretending that Simplicius had commissioned him to do so, published an edict on the Pope's death in 483, forbidding the clergy and people of Rome to elect a successor without his intervention or that of his lieutenant, the prefect of the prætorium. When, therefore, the elective assembly met

* *Apologia del Pontificato di Benedetto X.*, par. i. cap. ii. num. 2.

in St. Peter's to fill the vacant see, Basil the patrician came forward and claimed in his master's name, and by virtue of the dying wish and even command of Simplicius, the right of regulating its acts and of confirming the election it might make. This pretension was firmly repelled, and, disregarding the tyrant, Felix III. was elected on March 8, 483. Baronius is of opinion that Simplicius never addressed such a requisition to the king, but that the story of his having done so was fabricated a few years later by the party of Lawrence, the anti-Pope. The document purporting to emanate from Simplicius was rejected by a Roman council in 502 without further investigating its genuineness than by exposing that it lacked the Pope's signature, and was in any case opposed to the sacred canons and *ipso facto* null and void.* On November 22, 498, St. Symmachus was elected Pope, but a minority set up a certain Lawrence, and both were consecrated on the same day. Civil strife was imminent, and, although the most regular mode of action would have been to call a council of the provincial bishops, delay was too dangerous, and the prompt interference of Theodoric was asked and submitted to.

Although this monarch was an Arian, he had protected the Catholics on many occasions, and had for prime minister the celebrated Cassiodorus, whose virtues, justice, and wisdom were renowned throughout Italy. Such considerations as these must have led the Roman clergy to submit a purely ecclesiastical matter to the court of Ravenna. On the advice of his minister the king decided that the one who had been first elected and had

* Odoacer, the first king of Italy in olden times, become so by violence and usurpation like the first king of Italy of modern times, and the first to interfere in a papal election, was captured in March, 493, and put to death by his victorious rival, Theodoric.

received the greatest number of votes should be recognized as the legitimate Pope. Both conditions were verified in Symmachus. His first pontifical act was to summon a council in the basilica of St. Peter on March 1, 499, to regulate more effectively the mode of future elections. Seventy-two bishops, sixty-seven priests, and five deacons composed the council. Three canons were drawn up relative to this matter. By the first it was ordained that if any clergyman be convicted of having given or promised his suffrage for the pontificate to any aspirant during the Pope's lifetime he shall be deposed from his office; by the second it was provided that if the pope die suddenly, and a unanimous election cannot be reached, the candidate receiving a majority of the votes shall be declared elected; by the third immunity from prosecution was promised to accomplices who should reveal the intrigues of their principals to obtain an unfair election.*

Theodoric the Goth, having once been appealed to, now thought to take the initiative in the election of a successor to John I., whom he had left to die of starvation and neglect on his return from Constantinople, where he had spoken according to his conscience rather than in favor of the Arians, as the king expected. On his recommendation St. Felix IV. was elected Pope on the 12th of July, 526. The Roman clergy and senate protested against this stretch of royal authority, although they had no objection to the nominee, who was simple, mild, and charitable. The affair was not adjusted until a compromise was effected under Athalaric, whereby the Roman clergy by their votes, and the Roman people by their assent, were to elect the Roman Pontiff, who would then be confirmed by the king as a matter of course.

* Darras, *General History of the Catholic Church*, vol. ii. p. 66.

The popes were elected in this way until the extinction of the Gothic kingdom of Italy in the person of Teias, who was defeated and killed by Narses, general of Justinian, in the year 553. The Greek emperor, having recovered his sway in Italy, continued the abuse, to which the Romans had submitted only through fear of the barbarians, and arrogated to himself and successors the right of confirming the election of the Pope. Hence, as Baronius remarks, arose the prudent custom at Rome of electing to the Papacy those members of the clergy who had been *Apocrisiarii—i.e.*, agents or *nuncios* of the Holy See at Constantinople, where it was presumed they had won the favor of the court and become versed in matters of state. Thus the right of confirmation, although in principle ever so wrong, was reduced in practice to a mere formality. In this way were elected Vigilius in 538, St. Gregory I. in 590, Sabinian in 604, Boniface III. in 607, and others who were personally known to the Byzantine rulers.

Avarice, or a love of money under some pretext or another, was a besetting sin of the Greeks, and from it arose a new and more degrading condition imposed on papal elections. The imperial sanction was given only on payment by the Holy See of a tax of 3,000 golden *solidi*, a sum equal to thirteen thousand dollars of our money.* The Emperor Constantine Pogonatus, at the request of the papal legates to the Fourth General Council of Constantinople in 681, exempted the Holy See from the further payment of the tax. He was moved to do so by the sanctity of St. Agatho, who then filled the chair of St. Peter; but he still re-

* Some writers, it must be said, attribute the imposition of this odious burden to the Gothic kings. Graveson, who agrees with them, says (*Hist. Eccl.*, tom. ii· page 62) that the money was always distributed in alms to the poor—robbing Peter to pay Paul!

tained the assumed right of forbidding the Pope's consecration until his election had been confirmed. A few years later, however, he granted a constitution to Benedict II., his personal friend, and to whose guardianship he left his two sons, Justinian (II.) and Heraclius, in which he for ever abrogated this arbitrary law. The concession was ungratefully revoked by Justinian; and Conon, who was elected on October 21, 686, was obliged to ask the consent of the exarch of Ravenna, viceroy of the emperor, to his consecration. This necessity generally occasioned a delay of from six weeks to two months. The exarchs of Ravenna, having command of the troops and the key to the imperial treasury in the West, felt themselves in a position to abuse authority and try to set up creatures of their own in Rome. Often did the Roman clergy and many popes protest against their irregular acts. The choice of Pelagius II., in 578, was not submitted to the customary ratification, because the Lombards around Rome had cut off all communication with the outer world.

The historian Novaes says that although the Holy See resisted the interference of secular princes, yet the turbulent spirit of the Romans, often stirred up by unscrupulous ministers or by the sovereigns themselves, obliged the popes to have recourse to these same princes to maintain order at their consecration. Nothing, we think, better confirms the necessity of a temporal dominion whereby the popes can exclude the exercise of foreign influence in Rome, and themselves vindicate the character of good government for which they are responsible. Papal elections were of an absolutely peaceful nature only after Goths, Lombards, Greeks, and Germans ceased to support an armed force in Rome or its vicinity. Guarantees are deceitful; and a mere

personal sovereignty of the Pope without a territory attached would be insufficient to assure the independence of the Holy See.

A very remarkable law found its way into Gratian's decree, under the name of Pope Stephen, by which it is ordained that the newly-elected Pontiff shall be consecrated in presence of the imperial ambassadors.* The learned are divided in their opinion about which Pope passed this law. Baronius, Papebroch, Natalis Alexander, and others attribute it to Stephen V., elected in 816; Pagi inclines to Stephen VI., *alias* VII.; Mansi to Deusdedit, elected in 615; while some think that it belongs to John IX., because it is found among the acts of a council held by him in 898. Novaes suggests that this council may only have given a more solemn sanction to an older law. When Eugene II. was elected, on the 5th of June, 824, he concerted with Lothair, son of the Emperor Louis, who had been named King of Italy and his father's colleague in the empire, to put a stop to cabals and disorders among the Roman people. He issued a decree enjoining upon the Roman clergy to swear fealty to the Frankish emperors, but with this significant reservation: "saving the faith that I have pledged to the successor of St. Peter"—*Salva fide quam repromisi Domino Apostolico* †—and not to consent to an uncanonical or factious election of a Pope. The same Pope also voluntarily offered to bind the Roman Pontiffs to be consecrated in the presence of the so-called *Rex Romanorum*, if he were in the city, otherwise of his envoy.‡ Pagi thinks that this was done to propitiate in advance these growing monarchs of the north, and distract them

* Cap. *Quia Sancta*, xxviii. Dist. lxiii.

† Paul the Deacon, *apud Pagi* (*Breviarium RR. PP.*, tom. i. p. 350).

‡ When a successor to the throne was elected or appointed during the emperor's lifetime he was called King of Rome or of the Romans.

from the idea of continuing the policy of the Eastern emperors, who, as we have seen, would not allow the popes to proceed to consecration until their election had been confirmed. Eugene's act seems to have been a subtle stroke of diplomacy. While it flattered, by conveying the impression that the presence of Cæsar (as he was pompously called) or of his legates gave splendor and magnificence to the ceremony of consecration, it disarmed the emperor by implying the right of the popes to be consecrated at their own convenience; for if his meaning had been that the presence of the king or of his ambassadors were a necessary condition to the legality of the act, he would have deliberately placed himself and successors in the same relation to these new rulers that his predecessors had been obliged, though under protest, to assume toward the emperors of the East—which is manifestly absurd.

Nevertheless, both the Frank and Saxon emperors frequently claimed the right to something more than a mere honorary part in papal elections, which led to long years of party strife and discord between church and state. Leo IV., in 847, confirmed the decree of Eugene, although, on account of the Saracens around Rome, he was consecrated without waiting for the imperial ambassadors; and the same was the case, but without any ostensible reason, with Stephen V., *alias* VI. This shows that the presence of the envoys was a court privilege, which conferred no authority to go back of or revise the election itself, as Hadrian III., Stephen's immediate predecessor, expressly affirmed in a decree given by Martinus Polonus,* Mabillon,† and Pagi.‡ It is but fair to confess that this decree is not considered authentic by all; but what historical document has not

* Ad an. 884. † *In Ord. Rom.* cap. xvii. page 114. ‡ Ad an. 884.

been called in question by some hypercritic or other, especially in Germany? That it is not apocryphal is shown by the fact that one of Hadrian's successors—John IX., elected in 898—annulled it in view of the peace ensured by the presence of the ambassadors, and restored the earlier ordinance of Eugene.

The text of the canon law, and especially the passage *Canonico ritu et consuetudine*, has been often appealed to by Cæsarists and Protestant historians, as though it demonstrated that a papal election not made according to its requirements was uncanonical and invalid. In the first place, as Cardinal Garampi * remarks, Eugene's decree was a personal privilege *Advocatiæ* given to the princes of the Carlovingian line; and in the second place, as Thomassin observes upon John's decree,† the imperial ambassadors were not admitted to the election, but only to the subsequent consecration: they were there to overawe the turbulent; but in time their presence became a custom and was looked on as a part, so to speak, of the external rite of consecration. It had, besides, become so useful as a repressive measure against the enemies of the Holy See that it received the high sanction of being countenanced by the canon law itself. Pope Nicholas II., in the eleventh century, explained the text *Quia Sancta* in the same sense. It must be said, to the discredit of the Othos and the Henrys, that they too often slipped from the *inch* of privilege to the *ell* of (pretended) right, and went so far as to interfere in a direct and absolute manner at papal elections, intruding some less worthy subjects into the Papacy; but when once these occupied the seat of Peter they were to be recognized and respected on the same principle

* *De Nummo Argenteo Benedicti III.*, pag. 22 et seq.
† *Vet. et Nov. Eccl. Discipl.*, part ii. lib. ii. cap. xxvi. par. 6.

that the high-priests were in the irregular age of the Seleucidæ and the Romans when they sat upon the chair of Moses. Yet even the imperial influence, says Kenrick,* was beneficially exercised in several instances, particularly those of Clement II. and St. Leo IX. Dr. Constantine Höfler has written a work† replete with information about these and other German popes and the physical aspect, the morals, manners, and customs, of the Romans in their time. Charles Hemans' books (we cannot seriously call them works) on *Ancient and Mediæval Christianity and Sacred Art in Italy*, while they show considerable acquaintance with the best authorities on the subject, manifest a detestable animus against the Holy See, which proves their writer to be as great an adept in the "art of putting things" as the far more learned but not less bigoted author of the eight-volume *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages*, Ferdinand Gregorovius.‡ While the corruption of some popes and the general depravity of the tenth century have been exaggerated by many historians, the condition of the Papacy at that time is certainly a warning against the interference of secular princes in the elections; for, as the great Baronius remarks (ad an. 900), *Nihil penitus Ecclesiæ Romanæ contingere potest funestius, tetrius nihil atque lugubrius, quam*

* *Primacy of the Apostolic See*, p. 243.

† *Die Deutschen Päpste*, 2 vols., Regensburg, 1839.

‡ The best compendium—although it seems hardly fair to call so complete a work by this rather ignominious name—of the history of mediæval Rome is the *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*, by Dr. Felix Papencordt, published after his death by Dr. Constantin Höfler from the author's manuscript, but with many valuable notes and other additions; 1 vol. large 8vo, Paderborn, 1857. It is the work of a sincere *Catholic* and a German *scholar*. "His acquaintance with mediæval history was amazing; he remembered the dates of the most insignificant events, and would make excursions into the desolate border tracts in the mountains between Rome and Naples, to visit the theatre of the most puny action between pugnacious barons in central Italy" (Wiseman [who knew him well at Rome], *Recollections of the Last Four Popes*, p. 138).

*si principes seculares in Romanorum Pontificum electiones manus immittant.**

In the middle of the eleventh century a movement was begun to reform the method of conducting papal elections, which eventually limited them within the legitimate circle of ecclesiastical prerogatives, totally excluding the direct influence of the inferior clergy and the aristocratic and popular element of the laity. Pope Nicholas II., having assembled a synod of one hundred and thirteen bishops in the Lateran Palace in the month of April, 1059, passed a law to the following effect : On the death of the Pope the cardinal-bishops shall first meet in council and with the utmost diligence treat of a successor ; they shall next take joint action with the cardinal-priests, and finally consider the wishes of the rest of the clergy and of the Roman people. If a worthy subject can be found among the members of the Roman (higher) clergy itself, he is to be preferred, otherwise a foreigner shall be elected ; so that, however, the honor and regard due to our beloved son Henry, now king, and soon, God grant, to be emperor, which we have seen proper to show to him and to his successors who may personally apply for it, be not diminished. If a proper election cannot take place in Rome, it may be held anywhere else.† In the year 1061 another synod was held, in which it was distinctly stated that the mere fact of election in the foregoing manner placed the elect in possession of plenary apostolic authority ; consequently, the emperor's confirmation was excluded, in the sense that without it the election was invalid. From this pe-

* See a long and interesting note to the point headed, *Quali consequenze discendano dalla condizione della chiesa romana al secolo x.* in Mozzoni's *Tavole Cronologiche critiche della Storia della Chiesa Universale. Secolo Decimo*, Rome, 1865.

† Cap. *In Nomine Domini*, i. dist. xviii.

riod, although the struggle was not yet over, the Papacy was completely emancipated from any kind of subjection to the empire. Alexander II., successor to Nicholas, did not communicate his election to the court; and although St. Gregory VII., glorious Hildebrand, did do so, it was partly from prudence in view of the excitement in Germany occasioned by the setting up of the anti-Pope Cadolaus in resentment for his predecessor's neglect, and partly from his sense of honor, lest it should be thought (since he had taken a principal part in enacting the statute of Pope Nicholas) that he availed himself of an advantage which he had himself created—artfully, as suspicious-minded persons might think—in anticipation of one day ascending the papal chair. He was the last Pope who ever informed the emperor of his election before proceeding to be consecrated and enthroned. The great Catholic powers still continue to exercise a measure of influence in these elections, but of a purely advisory character, except in the case of those few which enjoy the privilege of veto, or the *esclusiva*, as the Romans say.* At the Third General Council of

* The *veto* which is sometimes put upon the election of this or that cardinal to the Papacy by one or other of the three great Catholic powers—Austria, France, and Spain—is not a right but a privilege, founded more in custom than in any formal recognition. Novaes (vol. xiii. page 9, note *b*) says of this wise toleration of the Holy See: "Fondasi nella connivenza piuttosto, che nell' autorità Pontificia, dissimulazione di savia provvidenza, affinchè il supremo capo del mondo cattolico non sia eletto con dispiacere de' Sovrani, avendo sempre desiderato la S. Sede, che a tutti sia accetto il loro padre e pastore." The learned historian of the popes refers *inter alios* to John George Estor's *commentatio de jure* Exclusivæ, *ut appellant, quo Cæsar Aug. uti potest, quum Patres Purpurati in creando Pontifice sunt occupati* (Jenæ, Typis Ritterianis, 1740, in 4to). The last time this odious privilege has been invoked was at the conclave which elected Gregory XVI. (1831), when the Marquis of Labrador, Spanish ambassador, prevented the election of Cardinal Giustiniani, upon whom the majority of the votes were converging. This excellent and noble prince died in January, 1843, and was the grand-uncle of the present Prince Bandini-Giustiniani, who succeeded in 1877, by a most complicated English, Scotch, and Irish descent, to the earldom of Newburgh, etc., created in 1660 for a branch of the Livingston family.

the Lateran, held in the year 1179 by Alexander III., a most important advance was made in the manner of holding the elections. The right of the cardinals to elect, without reference to the rest of the Roman clergy or of the people, was affirmed, and a majority of two-thirds of their votes required for a valid election. This law was readily approved by the bishops and members of the council, and incorporated in the canon law, where it is found among the decretals of Gregory IX.*

In the twelfth century, then, the cardinals of the Holy Roman Church were in full and undisputed possession of the right of electing the Sovereign Pontiff; and although the exercise of this right is commonly attributed to the Sacred College, only from the passing of the famous decree of the Third Council of Lateran, in 1179, beginning *Licet de vitanda discordia in electione Romani Pontificis* (cap. vi. *de Elect.*), it rather supposes the cardinals to be already the sole papal electors, and merely determines what majority of their votes shall constitute a valid election.† Factious and semi-ignorant persons have often protested against this exclusive right of the cardinals to elect the visible head of the church. Of such a kind was Wycliffe, whose diatribe, *Electio Papæ a cardinalibus, per diabolum est introducta*, was condemned by the Council of Constance (artic. xl. sess. viii.); and Eybel, whose errors were exposed by Mamachi, under his poetical name of Pistus Alethinus, as a member of the Academy of the Arcadians.‡

* Ix. cap. *Licet*, 6, *de Elect.*

† Marchetti, *Critica al Fleury*, vol. ii. p. 193. The learned critic concludes this part of his animadversions on the Gallican historian of the church with the cutting reminder that "*Le storie non son Romanzi, da scrivergli come più piace.*"

‡ *Ad auctorem opusc. Quid est Papa?* vol. ii. p. 112 (1787). Father Thomas Mamachi was one of the most learned members of the Dominican Order in the last century, and a strenuous defender of the rights of the Holy See. He filled

In early times, when the Pope died at Rome the cardinals met to elect a successor in the Lateran or the Vatican basilica, or in the cathedral of any other city in which they might have determined to hold the election. Conclave is the term used exclusively for many centuries for the place in which the cardinals meet in private to elect a Pope; but it was used in the early middle ages of any room securely shut,* just as, among the ancient Romans, *conclave* was a covered and enclosed apartment or hall that could be fastened with a lock and key—*cum clavi.* Long before the pontificate of Gregory X. the cardinals who assembled for a papal election met in some part of a large and noble building—generally the sacristy of a cathedral—where they transacted the business of the day, and returned after each session to their private abodes. The gloss *Nullatenus*, on the decree of Alexander III., says that if two-thirds—the majority required—of the cardinals will not agree upon a candidate, they should be closely confined until they do—*includantur in aliquo loco de quo exire non valeant donec consenserint*—and mentions several popes elected after the cardinals had been subjected to a reasonable duress. This is precisely the conclave. It was not, however, until the year 1274 that the mode of

the high office at the Roman court of Master of the Holy Apostolic Palace, and died at Corneto in 1792. He is buried in the little church of his order at Civita Vecchia, in which a simple slab in the floor inscribed with a modest epitaph recalls the memory of his virtues and his learning. The principal of his many works is the one on Christian antiquities—*Origines et Antiquitates Christianæ* (written as an answer to Bingham's famous Anglican work on the same subject and with almost the same title), which is copiously illustrated, and indispensable to the student of sacred archæology. A new edition, "Curante Petro Matranga Presbytero," was published at Rome by Salviucci in 1841, in six large, well-printed volumes. These, however, are only a part of the author's work, which was to be complete in twelve volumes; but he died before he could finish it, and after his death his manuscripts, in the confusion of those evil times, were either lost or stolen, and have not since turned up.

* Du Cange, *Gloss.*, ad verb.

procedure in a papal election was positively settled—after the incursions of the barbarians and the many vicissitudes to which the Holy See then became subject had deranged the earlier and apostolic manner—and the rules and regulations of the modern conclave were published. After the death of Clement IV. in Viterbo, on Nov. 22, 1269, the eighteen cardinals composing the Sacred College met there to elect his successor; but not agreeing after a year and a half, although the kings of France and Sicily, St. Bonaventure, General of the Franciscans, and many influential, learned, and holy men came in person to urge them to compose their differences and relieve the church of her long widowhood, they were all got together one day, by some artifice, in the episcopal palace, which was instantly closed upon them and surrounded with guards. Even this imprisonment did not change their temper, and after some further delay the captain of the town, Raniero Gatti, took the bold resolution of removing the entire roof and otherwise dilapidating the edifice, in hopes that the discomforts of the season, added to their confinement, might break the stubbornness of the venerable fathers.* This move succeeded, and a compromise was effected among the discordant cardinals on the 7th of September, 1271, in virtue of which the papal legate in Syria, Theobald Visconti, Archdeacon of Liege, was elected. This was not the first time that extraordinary and almost violent measures had been taken to bring the cardinals to make a prompt election. At Viterbo the captain of the town coerced their liberty; at Naples the commandant of the castle bridled their appetite when, after the death of Innocent IV., in 1254, he diminished day by day the quan-

* Macri, *Hierolexicon*, ad verb. *Conclave*.

tity of food sent in to them—*cibo per singulos dies imminuto*—until they agreed upon a worthy subject.*

Gregory X., who was so singularly elected at Viterbo while far away in Palestine, called a general council, which met at Lyons on May 2, 1274. Five hundred bishops, over a thousand mitred abbots and other privileged ecclesiastics, the patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch, the grand master of the famous Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, the kings of France and Aragon, besides ambassadors from Germany, England, Sicily, and other important nations, took part in it. The Pope was resolved to establish the manner of electing the Roman Pontiff on a better principle, and now drew up a constitution which, in spite of considerable opposition from the cardinals, was read between the fourth and fifth sessions, and finally received the approbation of the fathers. This is substantially the code that still regulates the conclave. The original constitution, which had been suspended by some popes and not observed by the cardinals in several elections, was introduced into the body of canon law† by Boniface VIII., in order to impress it, if possible, with a more solemn and perpetual obligation of observance; and when some of the cardinals, incensed at the transfer of the see to Avignon, maintained that, despite all this, the Sacred College could modify or abolish it at discretion, it was confirmed by the General Council of Vienne and their factious spirit reproved. This conciliar decree has also a place in the canon law, where it is found among the Clementines (*Ne Romani*, 2 *de elect.*)‡

* Biondo da Forlì, lib. vii. decad. 2.

† Cap. *Ubi periculum*, 3 *de Elect. in* 6.

‡ Ne Romani electioni Pontificis indeterminata opinionum diversitas aliquod possit obstaculum vel dilationem afferre; nos, inter cætera præcipue attendentes, quod lex superioris per inferiorem tolli non potest, opinionem adstruere, sicut ac-

"Where the danger is known to be greatest," says the preamble to Pope Gregory's constitution, "there should most care be taken. How many risks and what great inconvenience a long vacancy of the Holy See entails is shown by looking back upon the disorders of other days. It is, therefore, wise that, while diligently engaged in reforming minor evils, we should not neglect to provide against calamity itself. Now, therefore, whatever our predecessors, and particularly Alexander III., of happy memory, have done to remove a spirit of discord in the election of the Roman Pontiff, the same we desire to remain in full force; for we do not intend to annul their decrees, but only by our present constitution to supply what experience points out to be wanting."

The whole decree may be divided into fifteen paragraphs, which are called the Fifteen Laws of the Conclave. They are summarized as follows:

On the death of the Pope the cardinals, having celebrated for nine days his obsequies in the city where he died, shall enter the conclave on the tenth day, whether absent colleagues have arrived or not, and be accompanied by a single attendant, whether lay or clerical, or at most, in case of evident necessity, by two attendants. The conclave shall be held in the palace last occupied by the Pope, and there the cardinals must live in common, occupying a single spacious hall not cut off by

cepimus satagentem, quod constitutio felicis recordationis Gregorii Papæ X. prædecessoris nostri, circa electionem præfatam edita in concilio Lugdunensi, per coetum cardinalium *Romanæ ecclesiæ* ipsa vacante modificari possit, corrigi vel immutari, aut quicquam ei detrahi sive addi, vel dispensari quomodolibet circa ipsam seu aliquam ejus partem, aut eidem etiam renunciari per eam tanquam veritati non consonam de fratrum nostrorum consilio reprobamus, irritum nihilominus et inane decernentes, quicquid potestatis aut jurisdictionis, ad Romanum, dum vivit, Pontificem pertinentis (nisi quatenus in constitutione prædicta permittitur) coetus ipse duxerit eadem vacante ecclesia exercendum, etc.

curtains or partitions, and so carefully closed on every side that no one can secretly pass in or out. One room, however, may be cut off for private purposes—*reservato libero ad secretam cameram aditu*—but no access shall be allowed to any cardinal, nor private conversation with nor visits to him, except from those who, by consent of all the other cardinals, may be summoned to consult on matters germane to the affair in hand; nor shall any one send letters or messages to their lordships or to any of their familiars, on pain of excommunication. A window or other opening shall be left in the hall of conclave, through which the meals are introduced, but it must be of such a size and shape that no human being can penetrate thereby. If, after three days from the opening of the conclave, no election has been made, the prelates appointed to attend to this shall allow each cardinal no more than one dish at dinner and supper during the next five days, after which only bread and water until they come to an agreement. The cardinals shall take nothing from the papal treasury during the vacancy of the see; but all its revenues are to be carefully collected and watched over by the proper officers. They shall treat of nothing but the election, unless some imminent danger to the temporalities of the Holy See may demand their attention; and, laying aside all private interests, let them devote themselves entirely to the common weal; but if any cardinal shall presume to attempt by bribes, compacts, or other arts to entice his brethren to his own side, he shall suffer excommunication, nor shall any manner of engagement, even if sworn to, be valid. If a cardinal draw off from the conclave, or should he retire from motives of health, the election must still proceed; yet if he recover he shall be readmitted. Cardinals arriving late

or at any stage of the proceedings, as also those who may be under censures, shall be received. No one can give his vote outside of the conclave. Two-thirds of the votes of all the electors present * are requisite to elect; and any one not radically disqualified † is eligible to the Papacy. The feudal superiors of the territory and the municipal officers of the city in which the conclave is held are charged to observe these regulations, and shall swear in presence of the clergy and people to do so. If they fail to perform their duty they shall be excommunicated, be declared infamous and lose their fiefs, and the city itself shall be interdicted and deprived of its episcopal dignity. Solemn funeral services are to be held in every important place throughout the Catholic world as soon as news arrives of the Pope's death; prayers are to be recited daily and fast-days appointed for the speedy and concordant election of an excellent Pontiff.

In this provident constitution of Gregory X. are contained in brief the rules and regulations which have ever since governed the conclave. In a few points, however, its severity has been relaxed, particularly by Clement VI. in the bull *Licet de Constitutione*, dated December 6, 1351; and in others some small modifications have been introduced, in accordance with the manners and customs of a more refined age, by Gregory XV. (Ludovisi, 1621–1623) in his comprehensive ceremonial.‡ Thus Clement VI. (De Beaufort, 1342–1352), while recommending the greatest frugality at table dur-

* Voting by proxy is not recognized in the conclave.

† Such, for instance, is a woman, a manifest heretic, an infidel—*i.e.*, one who is not baptized.

‡ *Cæremoniale continens ritus electionis Romani Pontificis, cui præfiguntur Constitutiones Pontificiæ, et Conciliorum decreta ad eam rem pertinentia.* Romæ, 1622, in 4to.

ing the seclusion of the conclave, removed the alimentary restrictions and left it to the cardinals themselves to select the kind, quality, and amount of their food, but forbade the prandial civilities of sending tidbits from one table to another. The same Pope allowed each cardinal to have his bed enclosed by curtains, and to have two attendants, or conclavists, in every case. The monastic simplicity of a common sleeping-room was done away with in the sixteenth century, when each cardinal was allowed the use of a separate cell, which Pius IV. commanded should be assigned by lot. When a cardinal's name and number have been drawn, his domestics upholster the cell with purple serge or cloth, if their master was created by the late Pope ; but if by a former one, with green—a difference in color that was first observed in the conclave for the election of Leo X. A few articles of necessary furniture, such as a bed, table, kneeling-bench, and a couple of chairs, complete the interior arrangements. On the outside of his cell each cardinal affixes a small escutcheon emblazoned with his arms, which serves as a substitute for that vulgar modern thing called a door-plate. While great care is still taken to hinder suspicious communications between the conclave and the outer world, it is no longer prohibited to visit a cardinal or member of his süite, although the colloquy must be held at some one of the entries, and whatever is spoken be heard by the prelates doing duty there. Instead of the single small window—more like an *oubliette* than anything else—which Gregory prescribed, openings in the shape of pivotal or revolving wooden frames, like those used in nunneries and called *tours* in French, were adopted at the suggestion of Paride de' Grassi, master of ceremonies to Leo X. Eight of them are always connected on different sides with the hall

of conclave, wherever it may be. The ten days before the conclave can open begin from the very day of the Pope's death; but sometimes a much longer time has elapsed—as, for instance, after the death of Alexander VI., when the violence of Cæsar Borgia and the presence of a French army in Rome occasioned a delay of thirty days; and again, when Cardinal Ferreri was arrested on his way from Vercelli to the conclave by the Duke of Milan, his loyal colleagues waited for him eight days beyond the usual time. The conclave in which Julius III. was elected in 1550 was not opened until nineteen days after his predecessor's death, to oblige the French cardinals, who had not yet all arrived at Rome. In early ages, before it became customary to give the hat to occupants of episcopal sees other than the seven suburbican ones, and when cardinals were strictly bound to reside *in curia—i.e.*, to live near the Pope of whose court they were the principal personages—there was generally no necessity for a considerable delay. Anastasius the Librarian * says that Boniface III., in the year 607, made a decree forbidding any one to treat of a future Pope's election during the lifetime of the living one, or until three days after his death; but, as Mabillon shows, † this three days' delay was observed in the Roman Church long before the seventh century, as appears from the despatch sent to the Emperor Honorius after the death of Pope Zozimus in the year 418. It is not known when it began to be observed as a law. In many cases an election took place either on the very same day that a Pope died or on the following one, particularly during the era of persecutions and in the tenth and twelfth centuries, when the

* *Lib. Pontif.*, tom. iv., *in vita Bonif.*

† *Mus. Ital.*, cap. xvii. p. 112.

seditious disposition of the populace and the factions of rival barons made any unnecessary delay extremely hazardous. During the fifteenth, sixteenth, and following centuries the conclaves have generally been short, averaging about two weeks each. But during the greater part of the middle ages, after the supremacy of the Sacred College during the vacancy of the Holy See was undisputed, and the cardinals had little to fear from princes or people, their own dissensions often occasioned an interregnum of months, and even years, to the discredit of their order and the scandal of the Christian world.

The election should take place in Rome, if possible, because Rome is, or ought to be, the ordinary residence of the Sovereign Pontiffs; but both before and after Pope Gregory's constitution many elections have been held elsewhere, according as the Curia was in one place or another. Urban II. was elected in Terracina; Calixtus II. in Cluny; Lucius III. in Velletri; Urban III. in Verona; Gregory VIII. in Ferrara; Clement III., Alexander VI., Honorius III. in Pisa; Innocent IV. in Anagni; Alexander IV. and Boniface VIII. in Naples; Urban IV., Gregory X., and Martin IV. in Viterbo; Innocent V. in Arezzo; Honorius IV., Celestine V., and Clement V. in Perugia. During the stay of the popes in France John XXII., Benedict XII., Clement VI., Innocent VI., Urban V., and Gregory XI. were elected at Avignon. John XXIII. was elected at Bologna, and Martin V. at Constance, since whom all his successors, except Pius VII., have been elected in Rome. The law of Gregory X. commanded that the conclave should be held there where the last Pope died—*Statuimus ut, si eundem pontificem in civitate, in quâ cum sua curia residebat, diem claudere contingat extremum, cardinales omnes*

*conveniant in palatio, in quo idem pontifex habitabat*—because in one sense, as of ancient Rome,

> . . . Vejos habitante Camillo,
> Illico Roma fuit ;

so of modern Rome, *Ubi Papa, ibi Roma.* When, however, he was absent only on some extraordinary occasion, the election was to be held in Rome itself, no matter where he died. Gregory XI., who brought back the see from Avignon, intending to return to France on business and to better his health, but wishing to assure an Italian election and the permanent retransfer of the Holy See to Rome, made a decree on March 19, 1378, ordering a majority of the cardinals, should his death occur during his absence, to meet in any part of Rome, or, if more convenient, in some neighboring city, and there elect a successor. Clement VII. restricted the place of holding the conclave to Rome alone, in a bull issued October 6, 1529, on occasion of his journey to Bologna to crown the Emperor Charles V., and in another one, dated August 30, 1533, when going to France to confer with Francis I.

When Pius IV. had a mind to go to Trent and preside in person at the council, he declared on September 22, 1561, that a papal election—should one become necessary by his death while away—was to be held in Rome, unless it were under an interdict, in which case in Orvieto or Perugia. Clement VIII., when going to Ferrara to receive back the fief which had reverted to the Holy See on the death of Alphonsus d'Este, declared on March 30, 1598, that, should he die before returning, the subsequent election was to be held nowhere but in Rome. Long usage, continued up to the beginning of the present century, has consecrated the Vatican

as the most proper seat of the conclave. The first Pope elected there was Benedict XI. in 1303, and the next was Urban VI. in 1378. When Honorius IV., of the great house of Savelli, died where he had lived and held his court, in his family mansion on the Aventine, some remains of which are still seen near the convent of *Santa Sabina*, the cardinals, in scrupulous observance of the first law of Gregory's constitution, met there and elected his successor, Nicholas IV., on February 22, 1288. Eugene IV. in 1431, and Nicholas V. in 1447, were elected in the Dominican convent of the Minerva, the great dormitory of the friars being fitted up for the cardinals, and the election itself being held in the sacristy behind the choir, over the door of which a large fresco painting and a Latin inscription still commemorate the event. There were several projects on foot in the seventeenth century to establish with every possible convenience, and in accordance with the prescriptions of the Roman ceremonial of election, a hall of conclave which should serve for all future occasions. The venerable Lateran and the more modern Quirinal each had its advocates, and Pius VI. is said by Cancellieri to have intended the vast and magnificent sacristy building which he erected alongside of St. Peter's for such a purpose; but his immediate successor was elected in Venice on account of the French troubles, and all of *his* successors, except the present one, have been elected in the Quirinal palace.

On the Pope's death the Sacred College, or apostolic senate of Rome, succeeded to the government of the States of the Church. All the officers of the government were instantly suspended until provision was made to carry on the public business. Only the chamberlain of the Holy Roman Church, the grand penitentiary, and the vicar-general, who are always cardinals, continued to

exercise their powers by a privilege granted to them by Pius IV. The chamberlain (camerlengo) was the executive or head of the government, acting as a quasi-sovereign, and was consequently honored with a special guard and allowed to coin money stamped with his family arms and the distinctive heraldic sign of the vacancy of the see, which is a pavilion over the cross-keys. With him were associated three other cardinals, each for three days at a time, one from each of the three orders, beginning with the dean, the first priest, and first deacon, and so on in turn of seniority. The secretary of the Sacred College, who is always a prelate of very high rank, was prime minister and transacted all the correspondence and other business of the cardinals with foreign ambassadors and the representatives of the Holy See at foreign courts. Clement XII. provided that if the chamberlain or grand penitentiary should die during the conclave, the cardinals are to elect a successor to him within three days; but if the cardinal-vicar die, the vicegerent, who is always a bishop *in partibus*, succeeds *ex-officio* to his faculties. The Sacred Congregations of Rome are privileged to transact business of small importance through their secretaries, and even to finish affairs of whatever importance, if at the Pope's death they were so far advanced as to need only the secretary's signature.

If a cardinal fall ill and choose to remain in conclave, provision is made to take his vote; but he may retire, if he wish, losing his vote, however, which cannot be given outside of the conclave or by proxy. If he recover he is obliged in conscience to return, because it is a duty of his office, and not a mere personal privilege, to take part in papal elections. All cardinals, unless specially deprived by the Pope before his death of the

right of electing and of being elected, can vote and are eligible, even if under censures. Thus, cardinals De Noailles and Alberoni were invited to the conclave at which Innocent XIII. was elected; but cardinals Bandinelli-Saoli and Coscia had been deprived, the one by Leo X. and the other by Clement XII., of what is called in canon law the active and passive voice. The cardinals may elect whom they please; nor is it necessary to be either a member of the Sacred College or an Italian to become Pope. In former ages the choice of subjects was more confined than it is at present; for we learn from the acts of a council composed chiefly of French and Italian bishops, convened at Rome in 769 by Stephen III., *alias* IV., to condemn the anti-Pope Constantine, who was not even a cleric, that no one who was not either a cardinal priest or deacon could aspire to the Papacy—*Nullus unquam præsumat . . . nisi per distinctos gradus ascendens, diaconus aut presbyter cardinalis factus fuerit, ad sacrum pontificatus honorem promoveri.**

Nevertheless, in view, presumably, of the greater good of the church, many persons have since been elected who did not answer to this description. This was the case with Gregory V. in 996; Sylvester II. in 999; Clement II. in 1046; Damasus II. in 1048; Leo IX. in 1049; Victor II. in 1055; Nicholas II. in 1059; Alexander II. in 1061; Calixtus II. in 1119; Eugene III. in 1145; Urban IV. in 1261; Gregory X. in 1271; Celestine V. in 1294; Clement V. in 1305; Urban V. in 1362, and Urban VI. in 1378, since whom no one not a cardinal has been elected, although several have come near being chosen. At the conclaves at which Adrian VI. and Clement VII. were elected Nicholas Schomberg, a celebrated Dominican and archbishop of Capua, received

* Labbe, *Concil.*, tom. vi. col. 1721.

a number of votes; and as late as the middle of the last century, at the conclave from which proceeded Benedict XIV., Father Barberini, ex-general of the Capuchins and apostolic preacher, was repeatedly voted for. No matter what may have been a man's previous condition, he can be elected; and there are not a few instances of persons of ignoble birth or mean antecedents having been exalted to the Papacy, which they have illustrated by their virtues or their learning: "Choose the best, and him who shall please you most of your mother's sons (*children of the Catholic Church*), and set him on his father's throne" * (*as vicegerent of God in his kingdom on earth*).

However, since Sixtus V. (1585–1590), who is said to have been a hogherd in his youth, all the popes have belonged to noble families; for, says Cardinal Pallavicini, the celebrated Jesuit and historian of the Council of Trent, nobility of birth, although no necessary condition, adds dignity and splendor to the pontificate—*reca gran decoro ed ornamento al pontificato.*† But then he belonged to a princely family himself and wrote two centuries ago.

Almost every European nationality has had a representative on the papal throne; but for several centuries the Italians have jealously guarded its steps from any one but themselves, and perhaps with reason so long as the Pope was temporal sovereign of a large part of the Peninsula. Adrian VI., of Utrecht (1522–1523), was the last *foreigner* ever allowed to wear the tiara, and he for his relations with the powerful emperor Charles V. rather than for his undoubted virtues and learning; and yet so great was the indignation of the Romans when his name was announced that the cardinals were insulted and some of them maltreated as they left the con-

* 4 Kings x. 3.

† *Hist. of Alex. VII.*

clave. But if a Hollander might be tolerated for some grave political reasons—not a Frenchman under any circumstance. In the conclave of 1458 the worthiest subject to very many of his brethren seemed the Cardinal d'Estouteville, Archbishop of Rouen—the same who built the magnificent church of San Agostino at Rome. But *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes ;* so when there was a fine chance of his getting the requisite number of votes, Orsini and Colonna, as heads of the Roman party, deliberately turned the tide in favor of Piccolomini, although his record was bad and his health not good.* When Clement V. (Bertrand de Got, Archbishop of Bordeaux, 1305–1314) was elected, he summoned the Sacred College to Lyons to assist at his coronation. When the order reached the cardinals old Rosso Orsini, their dean, rose and said: "My venerable brethren, soon we shall see the Rhone—but, if I know the Gascons, the Tiber will not soon see a Pope again." And so D'Estouteville, with all his wealth and learning and high connections, was made to feel that

> Necdum etiam causæ irarum sævique dolores
> Exciderant animo.

Gregory X. prescribed that a strict watch should be kept over the conclave wherever it might be held. When held in Rome the representatives of the noblest families have a principal part in maintaining order in the city and protecting the cardinals from any sort of interference. The marshal of the Holy Roman Church and guardian of the conclave watches over the external

* Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who became Pope Pius II., had been implicated in the affairs of the schismatical Council of Basle, but he finally acknowledged his errors and made his peace with Eugene IV., who treated him with magnanimous generosity. He was scholar, poet, and antiquarian; one of the most learned men and best Latinists of the age. He made an excellent Pope.

peace and quiet of the Sacred College. This is one of the highest offices held by a layman at the Roman court. It is hereditary, and belonged for over four hundred years to the great baronial family of Savelli until its extinction. It passed in 1712 to the princely family of Chigi. The very ancient and now ducal family of Mattei was charged with preserving the peace of the *Ghetto* and *Trastevere*. For this purpose it used to raise and equip a small body of troops, which was kept up as long as the conclave lasted. The majordomo of the late Pope is *ex-officio* governor of the conclave since the time of Clement XII. (Corsini, 1730–1740). Although he also exercises some external jurisdiction, he is more particularly required to attend to the domestic wants of the cardinals and preserve order within the palace where the conclave may be held. Delegations from the various colleges of the Roman prelacy—apostolic prothonotaries, auditors of the Pope, clerks of the chamber, etc.—taking their orders daily from the governor, are to be stationed at one or other of the *Ruote*, or turnstile windows, during the whole of the conclave. *Prælati*, says Pius IV.,* *ad custodiam conclavis deputati, sub pœna perjurii et suspensionis a divinis, maxima et exquisita diligentia utantur in inspiciendis ac perscrutandis epulis, aliisve rebus, ac personis conclavi intrantibus, ac de eo exeuntibus, ne sub earum rerum velamine literæ, aut notæ, vel signa aliqua transmittantur.*

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when every species of gambling and games of chance was practised with frenzied passion in Italy, it was very common in Rome, although prohibited under severe penalties by Pius IV. and Gregory XIV. as a sort of sacrilege, to bet on the cardinals whose "backers" thought they had a chance of being elected.

* Const. *In eligendis Bullar. Rom.*, tom. iv. part ii. pag. 145.

The collect *Pro eligendo Pontifice*—that God may grant a worthy pastor to his church—is said at all Masses throughout the world from the beginning of the conclave until news arrives of the Pope's election. In Rome there is a daily procession of the clergy from the Church of St. Lawrence *in Damaso* to St. Peter's basilica (if the conclave be held in the Vatican), chanting the Litany of the Saints and other prayers. When the procession arrives there a Mass *de Spiritu Sancto* is said by a papal chaplain in a temporary chapel fitted up near the main entrance to the conclave. The singing is by the papal choir.

The literature, if we may call it so, of papal elections is varied and extensive. Besides the letters, bulls, and conciliar decrees of twenty-eight popes from Boniface I. in 418 to Pius IX., there is a host of writers on the subject, some of whom are distinguished for piety and learning, while others are noted for their hatred of the Holy See. Almost every conclave from Clement V.'s down has had its chronicler or historian. The oldest special treatise extant on a papal election is one written by Cardinal Albericus, a monk of Monte Cassino, in 1050—*De Electione Romani Pontificis, liber.*

As soon as the Pope has breathed his last amidst the consolations of religion, and after making his profession of faith in presence of the cardinal grand-penitentiary—who usually administers the last sacraments—and of the more intimate members of his court, the cardinal-chamberlain of the Holy Roman Church, accompanied and assisted by the right reverend clerks of the apostolic chamber, takes possession of the palace and causes a careful inventory to be made of everything that is found

in the papal apartments.* He then proceeds to the chamber of death, in which the Pope still lies, and, viewing the body, assures himself, and instructs a notary to certify to the fact, that he is really dead. He also receives from the grand chamberlain of the court—*Monsignor Maestro di Camera*—a purse containing the Fisherman's ring which His Holiness had used in life. The cardinal, who, by virtue of his office of chamberlain of the Holy Roman Church, has become the executive of the government, sends an order to the senator of Rome, who is always a layman and member of a patrician family, to have the large bell of the Capitol tower tolled, at which lugubrious signal the bells of all the churches throughout the city are sounded. Twenty-four hours after death the body of the Pope is embalmed, and lies in state, dressed in the ordinary or domestic costume, upon a bed covered with cloth of crimson and gold, the pious offices of washing and dressing the body being performed by the penitentiaries or confessors of the Vatican basilica, who are always Minor Conventuals of the Franciscan Order. It is next removed to the Sistine Chapel, where it is laid out, clothed in the pontifical vestments, on a couch surrounded with burning tapers and watched by a detachment of the Swiss Guard. On

* The apostolic chamber, called in Rome the *Reverenda Camera Apostolica*, dates from the pontificate of Leo the Great, who constructed in the year 440 a small but elegant suite of chambers which served as a sanctuary for the bodies of the apostles SS. Peter and Paul until proper crypts, called *Confessions*, had been prepared for them beneath the high altars of their respective basilicas at the Vatican and on the Ostian Way. When these relics had been deposited in their present resting-places, the Leonine sanctuary was used, as a strong and venerable place, to contain the public treasury of the Holy See, which was given into the safe-keeping of certain officials called *camerarii*. Their successors are the present *Chierici di camera*, who are eight in number and form one of the great prelatic colleges of Rome. The present institution was reorganized by Pope Urban V. in the fourteenth century. The cardinal-chamberlain is *ex-officio* its head, and it acts as a board of control over the finances of the Holy See.

the following day the cardinals and chapter of St. Peter assemble in the Sistine and accompany the transport of the body to the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament in the Vatican basilica, where it remains exposed for three days, the feet protruding a little through an opening in the iron railing which closes the chapel, that the faithful may approach and kiss the embroidered slipper. The nine days of funeral services—*Novendialia*—which the Roman ceremonial prescribes for the Pope now begin. These are his public obsequies. For the first six days the cardinals and prelates of the court and Holy See assemble daily in the choir chapel of the canons of St. Peter, where, the Office for the Dead being chanted, a cardinal says Mass; but during the remaining three days the services are performed around an elevated and magnificent catafalque which in the meanwhile has been silently erected in the great nave of the basilica. This structure is a perfect work of art in its way, every part of it being carefully designed with relation to its solemn purpose, and in harmony of form and proportions with the vast edifice in which it is reared. It is illustrated by Latin inscriptions and by paintings of the most remarkable scenes of the late pontificate, and adorned with allegorical statues. A detachment of the Noble Guard stands there motionless as though carved in stone. Over the whole is suspended a life-size portrait of the Pope. A thousand candles of yellow wax and twenty enormous torches in golden candelabra burn day and night around it. On each of these three days five cardinals in turn give the grand absolutions, and on the ninth day a funeral oration is pronounced by some one —often a bishop, or always at least a prelate of distinction whom the Sacred College has chosen for the occasion. In former days the cardinal-nephew or relative of

the deceased had the privilege, often of great importance for the future reputation of the Pontiff and the present splendor of his family, raised to princely rank, of selecting the envied orator. Ere this, however, the final dispositions of the Pope's body have been made. On the evening of the third day, the public having been excluded from the basilica, the cardinal-chamberlain, cardinals created by the late Pope, clerks of the chamber and chapter of St. Peter, headed by monsignor the vicar —who is always an archbishop *in partibus*—vested in pontificals, assemble in the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, in which the Pope still lies in state. The body is then reverently enfolded in the gold and crimson cover of the couch, and taken up to be laid in a cypress-wood coffin, into which are also put three red purses containing medals of gold, silver, and bronze, as many of each sort as there were years of the pontificate, bearing the Pope's effigy on one side, and a design commemorative of some act of his temporal or spiritual government on the other. If there should be a relative of the late Pope among the cardinals, he covers the face with a white linen veil, otherwise this last office of respect is performed by the majordomo. When the coffin has been closed it is placed inside of a leaden case, which is immediately soldered and sealed, while the metal is hot, with the arms of the cardinal-chamberlain and of the majordomo. A brief inscription is cut at once on the face of this metal case, giving simply the name, years of his reign, and date of death. The coffin and case are now enclosed in a plain wooden box, which is covered with a red pall ornamented with golden fringes and an embroidered cross, and carried in sad procession to the uniform temporary resting-place which every Pope occupies in turn in St. Peter's, in a simple sarcophagus of marbled

stucco which is set into the wall at some distance above and slightly overhanging the floor of the church, on the left-hand side of the entrance to the choir chapel. A painter is at hand to trace the name of the Pope and the Latin initials of the words High Pontiff—*Pius IX., P.M.* Before the Pope's body is taken up from the chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, some workmen, under the direction of the prelates and officers of the congregation for the supervision of St. Peter's—*Reverenda Fabrica di San Pietro*—have broken in the sarcophagus at the top and removed its contents (which in this case were those of Gregory XVI., who had been there since 1846) to the crypt under the basilica until consigned to the tomb prepared, but not always in St. Peter's, either by the Pope himself before his death or by his family or by the cardinals of his creation, and the new claimant for repose takes his place there.

During the nine days that the obsequies of the Pope continue the cardinals assemble every morning in the sacristy of St. Peter's to arrange all matters of government for the States of the Church and the details of the approaching conclave. These meetings are called general congregations. At them the bulls and ordinances relating to papal elections are read, and the cardinals swear to observe them; the Fisherman's ring and the large metal seal used for bulls are broken by the first master of ceremonies; two orators are chosen, one for the funeral oration and the other for the conclave; all briefs and memorials not finally acted upon are consigned to a clerk of the chamber, etc., etc. On the tenth day the cardinals assemble in the forenoon in the choir chapel of St. Peter's, where the dean of the Sacred College pontificates at a votive Mass of the Holy Ghost, after which the orator of the conclave—who, if a

bishop, wears amice, cope, and mitre—is introduced into the chapel, and, after making the proper reverences, ascends a decorated pulpit and holds forth on the subject of electing an excellent pontiff: the Pope is dead; long live the Pope; the Papacy never dies! *

After the sermon and the singing by the papal choir of the first strophe of the hymn *Veni Creator*, the cardinals ascend in procession to the Pauline Chapel in the Vatican palace, where the dean recites aloud before the altar the prayer *Deus qui corda fidelium*, and afterwards addresses his brethren on the great business which they are about to engage in, exhorting them to lay aside all human motives and perform their duty without fear or favor of any man. All the persons who are to remain in conclave, as the prelates, custodians, conclavists or attendants on the cardinals, physicians, barbers, servants, are passed in review, and take an oath not to speak even among themselves of matters concerning the election. Every avenue leading into the conclave, except the eight loop-holes or windows mentioned above, are carefully closed by masons; one door, however, is left standing to admit any late-coming cardinal, or let out any one expelled from, or for whatever cause obliged to leave, the conclave. It is locked on the outside by the

* Roman bibliophilists anxious to possess—what is rare indeed—a complete set (*una biblioteca*, as the Italians say) of the funeral orations pronounced over the popes, and of the hortatory discourses addressed to the Sacred College about to enter conclave, eagerly contend at book-sales for these pamphlets, which are always in the choicest Latin of the age, and sometimes have a sentimental value on account of the subsequent fortunes, or misfortunes, of their authors. They are much more than mere literary curiosities for book-worms to feed upon. The form of the title-page, excepting of course in proper names and dates, is about the same in all; for instance, *Oratio habita ad Collegium Cardinalium in funere Innocentii IX., Pont. Max., vi. Id. Januarii*, 1592: Romæ, 1592, in 4to: by Father Giustiniani, a famous Jesuit; and *Oratio habita in Basilica SS. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli pridie Kalend. Aprilis*, 1721, *ad Emos. et Rmos. cardinales conclave ingressuros pro Summo Pontifice eligendo:* Romæ, ex Typographia Vaticana, 1721, in 4to: by Camillo de' Mari, Bishop of Aria.

prince-marshal, and on the inside by the cardinal-chamberlain, each one retaining the key of his own side. The lock is so combined that it requires both keys to open the door. On the following day the cardinal-dean says a votive Mass *de Spiritu Sancto*, at which all the cardinals in stoles receive Holy Communion from his hands. . . . And now *fervet opus*. . . . . As soon as the cardinal upon whom the requisite two-thirds of all the votes cast have centred consents to his election, he becomes Pope. This consent is absolutely necessary, and, although the Sacred College threatened Innocent II. (Papareschi, 1130–1143) with excommunication if he did not accept,* it is since admitted that no one can be constrained to take upon himself such a burden as the Sovereign Pontificate.

Thirty-eight popes, from St. Cornelius in 254 to Benedict XIII. in 1724, are recorded in history as having positively refused to accept the election, although they were afterwards induced by various motives, however much against their own inclinations, to ratify it. As soon as the elect has answered in the affirmative to the question of the cardinal-dean, proposed in the following very ancient formula: *Acceptasne electionem de te canonicè factam in Summum Pontificem?* the first master of ceremonies, turning to certain persons around him, calls upon them in an audible voice to bear witness to the fact.† The new Pope then retires and is dressed in the

* Arnulfus of Seez apud Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, tom. iii. p. 429, says that on this occasion the cardinals told the elect of their choice: *Si acquiescis, exhibemus obsequium; si recusas, exigimus de inobedientia pœnam;* and on his still hesitating, *parabant excommunicationis præferre sententiam.*

† This notarial function which the first master of ceremonies here performs is the reason why he is always an apostolic prothonotary; but his title to this prelatic rank rests entirely on *custom*, since he is not appointed by papal brief, as others are. It is by a similar analogy, although in matters theological, that the master of the Sacred Palace, who is always a Dominican, ranks with the auditors of the *Rota*.

ordinary or domestic costume of the Holy Father, three suits of which, of different sizes, are ready made, and disposed in the dressing-room for the elect to choose from. It consists of white stockings, cassock and sash with gold tassels, white collar and skull-cap, red mozzetta, stole, and shoes. He then takes his seat on a throne and receives the first homage—*adoratio prima*—of the cardinals, who, kneeling before him, kiss his foot and afterwards his hand, and, standing, receive from him the kiss of peace on the cheek. We see, from the ceremonial composed in the thirteenth century by Cardinal Savelli, that the present custom is not very different from the mediæval one; for, speaking of the Pope's election, he says: *Quo facto ab episcopis cardinalibus ad sedem ducitur post altare, et in ea, ut dignum est, collocatur; in qua dum sedet electus recipit omnes episcopos cardinales, et quos sibi placuerit, ad pedes, postmodum ad osculum pacis.* The custom of kissing the Pope's foot is so ancient that no certain date can be assigned for its introduction. It very probably began in the time of St. Peter himself, to whom the faithful gave this mark of profound reverence, which they have continued towards all his successors—always, however, having been instructed to do so with an eye to God, of whom the Pope is vicar. In which connection most beautiful was the answer of Leo X. to Francis I. of France, who, as Rinaldi relates (*Annal. Eccles.*, an. 1487, num. 30), having gone to Bologna, humbly knelt before him and kissed his foot, *se lætissimum dicens, quod videret facie ad faciem Pontificem Vicarium Christi Jesu.* "Thanks," said Leo, "but refer all this to God himself"—*Omnia hæc in Deum transferens, et omnia Deo tribuens.* To make this *relative* worship more apparent a cross has always been embroidered on the shoes since the pontificate of that most humble Pope,

St. Gregory the Great, in the year 590. It is curious to read of the objection made to this custom by Basil, Tzar of Muscovy, to Father Anthony Possevinus, S.J., who was sent to Russia on a religious and diplomatic mission by Gregory XIII. in the sixteenth century. His eloquent defence of the custom, appealing, too, to prophecy,* is found in the printed account of his embassy (*Moscovia*, Cologne, 1587, in fol.)

When the Pope is dressed in the pontifical costume he receives on his finger a new Fisherman's ring, which he immediately removes and hands to one of the masters of ceremonies to have engraved upon it the name which he has assumed. The popes have three special rings for their use. The first is generally a rather plain gold one with an intaglio or a cameo ornament; this is called the papal ring. The second one, called the pontifical ring, because used only when the Pope pontificates or officiates at grand ceremonies, is an exceedingly precious one. The one worn on these occasions by Pius IX. was made during the reign of Pius VII., whose name is cut on the inside. It is of the purest gold, of remarkably fine workmanship, set with a very large oblong diamond. It cost thirty thousand francs (about $6,000), and has a contrivance on the inside by which it can be made larger or smaller to fit the wearer's finger. (Barraud, *Des Bagues à toutes les Époques.* Paris, 1864.) The

* "Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and queens thy nurses: they shall worship thee with their face toward the earth, and they shall lick up the dust of thy feet"—Isaias xlix. 23, which St. Jerome interprets of the apostles; but in Peter's successors all honors and prerogatives continue. A very learned writer of the last century, Gaetano Cenni, has gone profoundly into the historical and antiquarian part of this singular and most venerable custom, in his dissertation *Sul Bacio De' Piedi Del Romano Pontefice*, which is the thirty-fourth of the third volume of Zaccaria's great collection of dissertations on subjects of ecclesiastical history—*Raccolta Di Dissertazioni Di Storia Ecclesiastica. . . .* Per cura Di Francesco Antonio Zaccaria, etc. Seconda edizione. Four vols. Rome, 1841.

Fisherman's ring, which is so called because it has a figure of St. Peter in a bark throwing his net into the sea (Matthew iv. 18, 19), is a plain gold ring with an oval face, bearing the name of the reigning Pope engraved around and above the figure of the apostle, thus: *Leo XIII., Pont. Max.* On the inside are cut the names of the engraver and of the majordomo. The ring weighs an ounce and a half. It is the official seal of the popes, but, although the first among the rings, it is only the second in the class of seals, since it serves as the privy seal or papal signet for apostolic briefs and matters of lesser consequence, whereas the great seal of the Holy See is used to stamp the heads of SS. Peter and Paul in lead, and sometimes, but rarely, in gold, on papal bulls. This ring was at first a private and not an official one, as we learn from a letter written at Perugia on March 7, 1265, by Clement IV. to his nephew Peter Le Gros, in which he says that he writes to him and to his other relatives, not *sub bulla, sed sub piscatoris sigillo, quo Romani Pontifices in suis secretis utuntur.* From this it would appear that such a ring was already in well-known use, but it cannot be determined at what period it was introduced, or precisely when it became official, although it is certain that it was given this character in the fifteenth century; but another hundred years passed before it became customary to mention its use in every document on which the seal was impressed by the now familiar expression, "Given under the Fisherman's ring," which is first met with in the manner of a curial formula in a brief given by Nicholas V. on the 15th of April, 1448: *Datum Romæ, apud Sanctum Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die xv. Aprilis, MCCCCXLVIII., pontificatus nostri II.**

* The celebrated antiquarian Cancellieri has written with his usual diffuseness

Briefs are no more sealed with the *original* ring, which is always in the keeping of the Pope's grand chamberlain, who, as we have said, delivers it to the cardinal-camerlengo on the Pope's decease, to be broken in the first general congregation preliminary to the conclave, according to a custom dating from the death of Leo X. A fac-simile is preserved in the *Secretaria de' Brevi* which serves in its stead; but since June, 1842, red sealing-wax, because too brittle and effaceable, is no longer used, but in its place a thick red ink or pigment is employed. *Briefs* are pontifical writs or diplomas written on thin, soft parchment and more *abbreviated* than bulls, and treating of matters of less importance, requiring, therefore, briefer consideration*—whence, perhaps, they derive their distinctive name, although it has been suggested that the word comes from the German *Brief*, a letter, and was introduced into Rome from the imperial court during the middle ages. They are signed by the cardinal secretary of briefs, and differ from bulls in their manner of dating and their forms of beginning and ending. Their heading always contains the name of the reigning Pope and the venerable formula, *Salutem et apostolicam benedictionem*, which was first used by Pope John V. in the year 685. When the Pope sends a brief to a person who is not baptized he substitutes for this form the other one, *Lumen divinæ gratiæ*. Both briefs and bulls are always dated from the basilica nearest to which the Pope resides at the time; thus, we understand why the brief erecting the diocese of Baltimore was

and erudition on this matter in a little work, *Notizie sopra l'Origine e l'uso dell' Anello Pescatorio*, etc., etc., published at Rome in 1823.

* Briefs, says the learned Benedictine Mabillon, *De Re Diplomaticâ* (lib. ii. cap. xiv.), *brevi via, seu manu, remotis omnibus ambagibus, absolvuntur: quippe quæ a Pontifice, ut plurimum sponte et absque rei longa discussione conficiuntur.*

dated (6th of November, 1789) from St. Mary Major's, although Pius VI. was then living at the Quirinal palace. Another of the very ancient and venerable forms used by the popes is *Servus servorum Dei*—Servant of the servants of God. It is a title first assumed by St. Gregory the Great in the sixth century as a hint to the arrogant patriarch of Constantinople, John the Faster, who had taken the designation of *Universal Bishop*, which belongs only to the Roman Pontiff: "Whoever will be first among you shall be servant of all" (Mark x. 44).

As soon as the cardinal who has been elected gives his assent to the election, the cardinal-dean asks him what name he would wish to take. This custom of assuming a new name is very old, and has been much disputed about by writers on papal matters. The great Baronius has expressed the opinion in his *Ecclesiastical Annals* that John XII., who was previously called Octavian, was the first to make the change, which he did probably out of regard for his uncle, who was Pope John XI. Cardinal Borgia has observed in this connection, as showing that the change of name was yet a singularity, that the Pope used to sign himself *Octavian* in matters relating to his temporal, and *John* in those relating to his spiritual, government. Martinus Polonus started a fable that Sergius II., elected in 844, was the one who first changed his name, because known by the inelegant appellation of Pigsnout—*Bocca di Porco*; but the truth is, as Muratori says in one of his dissertations on Italian antiquities (*Antiquitatum Italic.*, tom. iii. dissert. xli. p. 764), that Sergius IV. (1009–1012), and not Sergius II., had this only for a surname or sobriquet, as was commonly given in that age at Rome, but was baptized Peter. He changed his name, indeed, according to the custom then becoming established as a

rule, but, as Baronius observes, not *ob turpitudinem nominis* (*Os porci*), *sed reverentiæ causa: cum enim ille* PETRUS *vocaretur, indignum putavit eodem se vocari nomine, quo Christus primum ejus sedis Pontificem, Principem Apostolorum, ex Simone Petrum nominaverat.* It has long been usual for the new Pontiff to take the name of the Pope who made him cardinal, but there have been several exceptions even in these later times. In some special cases, as in the signature to the originals of bulls and other ecclesiastical documents of great importance, the Pope retains his original Christian name, but, like all sovereigns, he omits his family name. Thus Leo XIII., now happily reigning, would sign himself by the form, "Placet *Joachim.*" There have been exceptions to this change, and both Adrian VI. and Marcellus II. kept their own names—the only two, however, who have done so in over eight hundred years. The Romans have an idea that it is unlucky to depart from the custom, and cite the very short pontificates of these popes as cases in point, the former having reigned less than two years and the latter less than one month.

The word pope—in Latin *Papa*, and by initials *PP.*—was once common to all bishops, and even to simple priests and clerics; but when certain schismatics of the eleventh century began to use it in a sense opposed to the supreme fatherhood of the Roman Pontiffs over all the faithful, clergy as well as people, it was reserved as a title of honor to the bishops of Rome exclusively. Cardinal Baronius says, in a note to the Roman Martyrology, that St. Gregory VII. held a synod in Rome against the schismatics in the year 1073, in which it was decreed "*inter alia plura, ut PAPÆ Nomen unicum esset in universo orbe Christiano, nec liceret alicui seipsum,*

*vel alium eo nomine appellare.*" * Another singularity about one of the Pope's titles deserves to be noted. The word *Dominus* in Latin—Lord—was originally used only of Almighty God, and a contracted form—*Domnus*—was employed in speaking of saints, bishops, and persons of consideration ; but in course of time, although a vestige of the once universal custom still lingers in the *Jube Domne benedicere* of the Office recited in choir, the term *Domnus* came to be specially reserved to the Roman Pontiff, for whom we pray in the litany as *Domnum Apostolicum.* Cancellieri, who, as usual, has sought out an abstruse subject, gives everything that can be said upon the matter in his *Lettera sopra l'Origine Delle Parole Dominus e Domnus e Del Titolo Don che Suol Darsi ai Sacerdoti ai Monaci ed a Molti Regolari.* In Roma, MDCCCVIII. The late Cardinal Wiseman has an interesting chapter on the mode of electing a Sovereign Pontiff in his *Recollections of the Last Four Popes.*

. . . . . .

Most Americans—Protestants—visit Rome as though there were nothing to see there of any value but the Past, and as though her sceptre had passed away for ever. Dyer's *Ruins* or passages in *Childe Harold* deceive them. Yet no one can love and appreciate the Eternal City who is not in sympathy with the Holy See. Rome still lives, and another and a higher life :

*Major sum pauper divite, stante jacens :*
*Plus aquilis vexilla crucis, plus Cæsare Petrus,*
*Plus cinctis ducibus vulgus inerme dedit.*
—*Hildebert, Abp. of Tours* (12th century) : *Carmina Miscellanea, lxiv.*

* We had the good fortune once to pick up at a book-sale in Rome for a few cents a rare and curious little book on this topic which gives the marrow of the subject in a very agreeable form : *Lettera di A. L. Nuzzi, Prelato Domestico Del Sommo Pontefice Sull' Origine ed Uso Del Nome PAPA.* Padova, 1 Settembre, MDCCXCVIII.

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Seton, Robert

Essays on various subjects, chiefly Roman by [Robert] Seton

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